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[For additional bibliographical citations, see Category 112.]

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INTRODUCTION

Notes

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2. Margaret Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind* (New York, 1936); Jack Temple Kirby, *Media-made Dixie: The South in the American Imagination* (Baton Rouge, La., 1978), pp. 73–74, 169; Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr., *The Celluloid South: Hollywood and the Southern Myth* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1981), pp. 3–4, 17–19, 128–29, 133–34; Rudy Behlmer, ed., *Memo from David O. Selznick* (New York, 1972), p. 151; Gavin Lambert, *GWTW: The Making of Gone with the Wind* (Boston, 1973), p. 70.

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4. C. McD. Puckette, "Sea Island Negroes," *New York Times Book Review*, April 6, 1941, p. 17. See also Mason Crum, *Gullah: Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands* (Durham, N.C., 1940).

5. Guy B. Johnson, Foreword to 1940 edition of *Drums and Shadows*, p. vi.

6. *Drums and Shadows*, original dust jacket.

7. Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York, 1918). For explications of Phillips's life and works see Eugene D. Genovese, "Ulrich Bonnell Phillips and His Critics," Foreword to *American Negro Slavery* by Phillips (Baton Rouge, La., 1966); Eugene D. Genovese, "Race and Class in Southern History: An Appraisal of the Work of Ulrich Bonnell Phillips," *Agricultural History* 41 (1967): 345–58; John Herbert Roper, *U. B. Phillips: A Southern Mind* (Macon, Ga., 1984); Merton L. Dillon, *Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Historian of the Old South* (Baton Rouge, La., 1985); and John David Smith, *An Old Creed for the New South: Proslavery Ideology and Historiography, 1865–1918* (Westport, Conn., 1985).

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9. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, p. 291.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 3–5, 42–44, 342.

11. Robert E. Park, "The Conflict and Fusion of Cultures with Special Reference to the Negro," *Journal of Negro History* 4 (1919): 116. For an interesting perspective on conservative and radical manifestations of the catastrophist school see Orlando Patterson, "Rethinking Black History," *Harvard Educational Review* 41 (1971): 299–304.

12. E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in America* (Chicago, 1939), pp. 21–22, 479. See also his "Traditions and Patterns of Negro Family Life in the United States," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), p. 194; and his *The Negro Church in America* (New York, 1963).

13. Guy B. Johnson, *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island, South Carolina* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1930), pp. 10–11, 128, 171; Guion Griffis Johnson, *A Social History of the Sea Islands* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1930); T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Black Yeomanry: Life on St. Helena Island* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1930). For a discussion of Guy B. Johnson and his role in the St. Helena project, see Daniel Joseph Singal, *The War Within: From Victorian to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919–1945* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982), pp. 315–27.

14. John Wesley Work, Introduction to *Folk Song of the American Negro*, ed. Frederick J. Work (Nashville, Tenn., 1907); James Weldon Johnson and J. Rosamund Johnson, *The Book of American Negro Spirituals* (New York, 1925); Nicholas George Julius Ballanta, *Saint Helena Island Spirituals* (New York, 1925); Edward Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folksongs: A Study in Racial and National Music* (New York, 1914); Edward M. von Hornbostel, "American Negro

Music," *International Review of Missions* 15 (1926): 748–51; Newman Ivey White, *American Negro Folk Songs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928); George Pullen Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals* (New York, 1943). For studies of the controversy over the spirituals, see Charles Joyner, "Music: Origins of Spirituals," in *Encyclopedia of Black America*, ed. W. Augustus Low and Virgil A. Clift (New York, 1981), pp. 591–96; John David Smith, "The Unveiling of Slave Folk Culture, 1865–1920," *Journal of Folklore Research* 21 (1984): 47–62; D. K. Wilgus, *Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship Since 1898* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1959), pp. 345–64.

15. See the following by Elsie Clews Parsons: *Folk Tales from the Sea Islands, South Carolina* (Cambridge, Mass., 1923); *Folk Tales of the Andros Islands* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918); *Folklore from the Cape Verde Islands* (Cambridge, Mass., 1923); *Folk Lore of the Antilles, French and English*, vols. 1–3 (Cambridge, Mass., 1933–35, 1943). See also Newbell Niles Puckett, *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1926), pp. i–ii; Zora Neale Hurston, *Mules and Men* (Philadelphia, 1935).

16. Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York, 1938, 1963), p. 240; Ruth Benedict, *Race: Science and Politics* (New York, 1940, 1959), pp. 86–87.

17. Melville J. Herskovits, "The Negro in the New World: The Statement of a Problem," *American Anthropologist* 32 (1930): 141–55; Melville J. Herskovits, "The Negro's Americanism," in *The New Negro*, ed. Alain Locke (New York, 1925), pp. 359–60; Melville J. Herskovits, *Life in a Haitian Valley* (New York, 1937), pp. 326–27.

18. Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (New York, 1941; Boston, 1958), pp. 8, 25, 37, 40, 41, 45, 88, 118, 120n, 126, 127, 304. See Guy B. Johnson's review in *American Sociological Review* 7 (1942): 289. Cf. John F. Szwed, "An American Anthropological Dilemma: The Politics of Afro-American Culture," in *Reinventing Anthropology*, ed. Dell Hymes (New York, 1972), pp. 153–81.

19. Muriel and Malcolm Bell, Jr., interview with author, Savannah, Ga., September 22–23, 1985; Guy B. Johnson, Chapel Hill, N.C., telephone conversation with author, September 14, 1985.

20. *Drums and Shadows*, p. ix; Locke, *The New Negro*, pp. 14–15; Countee Cullen, "Heritage," in *On These I Stand* (New York, 1947);

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Langston Hughes, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," *The Crisis*, June 1921; Bell interview.

21. Hirsch, "Portrait of America," pp. 49, 301, 388.

22. For an analysis of the structure of the creole language, Gullah, and a history of how it came into being, see Charles Joyner, *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana, Ill., 1984), pp. 196–224.

754 bush in somebody's yahd. They can't go out till you let
789 them. You plant it in yuh own yahd. Nobody can get in to
824 do you hahm. That's why I'm safe now. But," he concluded, with a melancholy look around his meagerly furnished domain, "I should've had it befo. My enemy has even prevented me from gettin on relief."

754 Lewis showed us his single treasured book, which he said contained magic art.*

"This book has helped me some," he said, "but I didn't
[845] really need it. I was birthed with my wisdom because I was the seventh child an bawn with a caul."[4]

775 We asked if he could see and talk with spirits.

"I see them," he said simply.[54, 55, 60] "Theah is a little
787 ghos that stays right roun this house. The firs night I moved in heah he walked right in an jumped on me. I managed to throw him off. Now he comes every night. Sometimes he stands at the gate with his feet so high off the groun," measuring about a foot, "an his face is turned backwards,[57] but he can always see you. I don't talk to him any aw try to come close, because he would hahm me aw cause me to hahm myself. I jus pass him by as if he wasn't theah. But I see him.

775 "I know theah must be buried treasure wheah this house is built, fuh wheahevuh theah is money aw othuh treasure a
787 ghos is put theah to gahd it.[61] One time I went out to
556 Deptford with two othuh men to dig up a pot of money that I knew was buried theah. I saw three spirits, one man an two women. We dug and dug an finally we could see the pot of money. Jus then one of the women laughed, 'Ha! Ha! Ha!' The pot sunk down deepuh in the groun. We all ran.

"The laugh that spirit gave went right through me. I nevuh tried to dig up the money again. Right now I know

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[113] * *L. W. de Laurence, "The Book of Magical Art, Hindu Magic and East Indian Occultism." Chicago: The de Laurence Company, Twelfth Edition, Revised, 1914.*

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Notes

Preface

121 (113) (114) 1. For a note on the usefulness of interdisciplinary approaches see David DeCamp, "Toward a Generative Analysis of a Post-Creole Speech Continuum," in *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, ed. Dell Hymes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 369.

(127) 2. For a detailed discussion of field procedures in general see Kenneth Goldstein, *A Guide for Field Workers in Folklore* (Hatboro, N.C.: Folklore Assoc., 1964).

(113) 3. See ibid., p. 21.

122 4. Juanita Jackson, Sabra Slaughter, and J. Herman Blake, "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource," *Black Scholar*, March 1974, pp. 32–39.

113 123 5. For further discussion of entrance into Sea Island communities see Patricia Nichols, "Linguistic Change in Gullah: Sex, Age, and Mobility" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1976).

113 6. Goldstein, *Guide for Field Workers*, p. 173.

Introduction

554 123 1. The titles *Mr.* and *Miss* have more significance in Sea Island communities than they do outside. They are used in daily interaction with those who are felt to have earned particular respect, becoming part of their names.

123 609 113 2. See Lorenzo D. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), pp. 11–12.

Chapter 1

131 113 1. Jackson, Slaughter, and Blake, "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource," p. 32.

2. These estimates were derived primarily from the Berkeley-Charleston-Dorchester (BCD) Council of Governments' *Report on Economically Less Developed Areas in the Berkeley Charleston Dorchester Region*, 1980.

113 3. For a detailed discussion of the folk life and language of Sandy Island and the

113 surrounding area see Nichols, "Linguistic Change in Gullah"; and Charles Joyner, *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

4. BCD Council of Governments, *Regional Housing Market Analysis*, 1979, p. 2.

5. Waccamaw Regional Planning and Development Council, *Waccamaw Regional Housing Element*, 1977, p. 8.

6. BCD, *Regional Housing Market Analysis*, p. 21.

491 [505] 7. The residents of Sandy Island have requested a bridge from the local government, but at this writing none is expected in the near future. At present all building materials, appliances, vehicles, and the like must be brought from the mainland by barge. And though residents enjoy the seclusion during the spring and summer, they complain—the children particularly—about being ferried across the river during the freezing rains that frequent the Carolina coast in winter.

113 8. For a discussion of the demographic characteristics of the Sea Island area see Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, vol. 4 (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1930); Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect;* Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969); and Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1690 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974).

776 775 9. Many hags, ghosts, and spirits are thought to haunt these highways, and some islanders fear them much more than the alligators, wolves, rattlesnakes, and other creatures which may prowl along the swamp roads at night.

113 10. Merrill G. Christophersen, *Biography of an Island* (Fennimore, Wis.: Westburg Assoc., 1976).

162 11. Sandy Island, in Georgetown County, is inhabited entirely by African-Americans. However, some Sea Islands just north of Charleston and closer to the coast, such as Pawleys, Sullivans, and the Isle of Palms, are peopled primarily by whites.

113 12. Marina Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow: The Free Black in Antebellum South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), pp. 158–59.

13. Jackson, Slaughter, and Blake, "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource," p. 33.

113 567 14. Frederic Bancroft, *Slave Trading in the Old South* (Baltimore: J. J. Furst Co., 1931), pp. 359–60. For further discussion of the slave trade in the Sea Island area see Georgia Writers Project, *Drums and Shadows* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1940; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973) p. xviii; Wood, *Black Majority;* and Joyner, *Down by the Riverside*.

113 15. BCD, *Regional Housing Market Analysis*, p. 19.

16. BCD, *Report on Economically Less Developed Areas*, p. 14.

17. Ibid., p. 13.

18. Ibid., p. 18.

19. June Manning Thomas, "The Impact of Corporate Tourism on Gullah Blacks: Notes on Issues of Employment," *Phylon* 41, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 4, 5.

20. BCD, *Report on Economically Less Developed Areas*, pp. 13, 17.

21. Thomas, "Impact of Corporate Tourism," p. 6.

22. Quoted in Mason Crum, *Gullah: Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands* (Du-

● 113 rham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1940), pp. 321–22. The original source for this order is the *Report of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands*, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 1865–66, Exec. Doc. 11, p. 10.

23. Guion Johnson, *A Social History of the Sea Islands with Special References to St. Helena Island, South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930), p. 18.

243 24. Though many writers have stated that rice was a Sea Island crop (see, for example, Wood, *Black Majority;* and Jackson, Slaughter, and Blake, "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource"), Professor Charles Joyner has indicated to me (through personal communication) that rice was grown not on the Sea Islands but in rice fields adjoining nearby mainland rivers. Rice requires fresh water, and the flooding and draining of rice fields require freshwater rivers moved by ocean tides. Thus Sandy Island had rice fields but the ocean islands did not.

113 25. Wood, *Black Majority*, p. 59.

26. Ibid., p. 59.

27. Ruth Finnegan, *Limba Stories and Storytelling* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).

262 264 28. Rice is normally eaten for breakfast, lunch, and dinner in variation with different meats, gumbos, greens, and sauces, many of which are still prepared and eaten on the islands in traditional fashions. Two carry-overs, for example, are a kind of okra soup called *ofey okra* in Igbo and a turnip green dish prepared with bits of meat, onion, hot peppers, and pepper sauce that has its counterpart in Yoruba, Igbo, and Ibebio cultures. In Africa these vegetable and meat dishes are eaten with *fufu* or *gari*, a soft substance about the consistency of bread dough. On the islands, instead of fufu and gari, corn bread is served with the greens or okra soup; small bits are pinched off, mashed together with the fingers, and then dipped and rolled in the vegetable sauce.

113 29. Guion Johnson, *History of the Sea Islands*, p. 26.

30. Quoted in Crum, *Gullah*, p. 70.

[226] 31. This practice was also observed by Jackson, Slaughter, and Blake; see "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource."

538 32. *Ber* is the Sea Island form of the word *Brer*.

33. Crum, *Gullah*, p. 55.

000 34. Quoted in ibid., p. 60.

825 538 35. This observation may in part answer a question posed by Richard Dorson, an avid researcher and collector of black folktales. Dorson observes that southern blacks drew a fair portion of their folktale material from the barnyards, fields, and woods which formed their environment. "Why they neglected such familiar denizens as the coon and the possum," he comments, "in favor of the rabbit and the fox, and preferred the buzzard over the owl, remain teasing questions" (*American Negro Folktales* [New York: Fawcett, 1967], p. 67). Perhaps the questions are not "teasing" at all. The animals of the tales are intensely interesting to the islanders because they have had to study these animals so closely to learn to hunt them. According to some of the island storytellers—people who are also known for their hunting skills—such animals as the buzzard are revered for their patience. They are often used as foils to much smarter animals like the monkey or the rabbit. On the other hand, the rabbit is renowned for his cunning and his illusionary and evasive skills. Though his teeth are sharp, he has no

825
538 protective coating like Ber Cooter. He cannot fly like Ber Buzzard or remain aloof on a high perch like the owl. His only defense is his wit, and his wit he puts to good use in the tales told about him on the Sea Islands. Knowing his habits well, perhaps the islanders find him more deserving of the titles "trister" and "sporty little animal" than any of the other animals they come in contact with.

82 36. The islanders' interactions with the natural environment go beyond the economic. The children become amateur oceanographers and learn to foretell the weather by the humidity and color of the sun at given times of the day, and the manner in which [805] it sets in the evening. They learn to gauge time within minutes in a furrowed field by counting the number of rows that a shadow covers at certain times of the day, as well as by the distance of the sun as it moves from "day clean"—sunrise—to "out the light"—sunset. "Island time" is important because the inhabitants fish, crab, and shrimp only when the tide reaches certain levels coming in or going out. Water is a subject of much symbolism among the older islanders. Once one has partaken of the [554] Sea Island water, one is thought to have a right to live on the islands. But as I was informed, in no uncertain terms, the water must be *offered* by an older, native-born member of high social esteem for that right to be legitimized.

000 37. On this point see, for example, Joyner, *Down by the Riverside*, pp. 61–63.

38. Winifred Owens (personal communication).

•113 39. Mary Arnold Twining, "An Examination of African Retention in the Folk Culture of the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1977), p. 175.

000 40. Ibid.; Owens (personal communication).

113 41. Greg Day, *South Carolina Low Country Coil Baskets* (Charleston, S.C.: Charleston Communication Center, n.d.).

42. Jackson, Slaughter, and Blake, "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource," p. 37.

43. William Demerson (Bamidele Ade Agbasebe), *The Role of Wife in The Black Extended Family: Perspectives from a Rural Community in the Southern United States*, New Research on Women and Sex Roles (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Continuing Education of Women, 1974), p. 135. Demerson is an anthropologist who has spent several years in the Sea Island area.

44. Ibid., p. 130.

45. Ibid., p. 135.

46. For further discussion see Joyner, *Down by the Riverside*, pp. 141–63, especially p. 144.

47. W. D. Weatherford, *The Negro from Africa to America* (1924; reprint, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), p. 44.

48. See John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (New York: Doubleday and Co., Anchor Books, 1970), p. 209.

49. Quoted in Patricia Jones-Jackson, "The Status of Gullah: An Investigation of Convergent Processes" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1978), p. 134. See also Appendix 3 herein.

50. Georgia Writers Project, *Drums and Shadows*, p. 236.

764 51. Crum, for example, does not acknowledge the influence of African languages
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764 178 on the speech of the islands, but he does, without qualification, admit the African origin of the traditional burial customs (*Gullah*, p. 97).

171 52. Robert Hamill Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), p. 218.

• 113 53. Emory Campbell (personal communication), Penn School Center, Frogmore, S.C.

54. Quoted in Patricia Jones-Jackson, "The Oral Tradition of Prayer in Gullah," *Journal of Religious Thought* 39, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1982): 22.

55. See Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (New York: Harper, 1941).

56. Jennett Robinson Murphy, *Southern Thought for Northern Thinkers* (New York, 1904), p. 23, quoted in Crum, *Gullah*, p. 144.

Chapter 2

1. See Joel Chandler Harris, *Nights with Uncle Remus: Myths and Legends of the Old Plantation* (New York, 1883); Charles C. Jones, *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast Told in the Vernacular* (Boston, Mass., 1888; reprint, Columbia, S.C.: State Co. 1925); Elsie Clews Parsons, *Folklore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina* (Cambridge, Mass.: American Folklore Society, 1923); and Ambrose Gonzales, *With Aesop along the Black Border* (Columbia, S.C.: The State Co., 1924).

2. See Charles Joyner, "Slave Folklife on the Waccamaw Neck" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1977); or Joyner, *Down by the Riverside*, pp. 172–195, especially pp. 190–91.

538 3. The *he* is for convenience; Sea Island storytellers can be women but are more usually men (see the next section of this chapter).

113 4. Lee Haring, "A Characteristic African Folktale Pattern," and Phillip Noss, "Description in Gbaya Literary Art," both in *African Folklore*, ed. Richard Dorson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972); and Patricia Jones-Jackson, "The Audience in Gullah and Igbo: A Comparison of Oral Traditions," *College Language Association Journal* 27, no. 2 (December 1983): 197–209.

5. DeCamp, "Toward a Generative Analysis," p. 369.

6. Dell Hymes, *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1974), pp. 43–44.

7. Ray L. Birdwhistell, *Kinesics and Context: Essays on Body Motion Communication* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), pp. 80–81.

8. Alfred Hayes, "Paralinguistics and Kinesics: Pedagogical Perspectives," in *Approaches to Semiotics*, ed. Thomas Sebeok, Alfred S. Hayes, and Mary C. Bateson (London: Mouton Publishers, 1964), pp. 158–59.

9. Richard Dorson, *Negro Tales from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and Calvin, Michigan* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), p. 52.

000 10. "Description in Gbaya Literary Art," p. 74.

11. Finnegan, *Limba Stories*, p. 68.

12. Interview courtesy of WHMM TV and South Carolina ETV, from the documentary film *When Roots Die*, 1985.

Chapter 3

782 537 128 1. The prayers are often presented in a chanting style difficult for non-Gullah speakers to understand. Thus I gratefully acknowledge the aid of Mrs. Ida Morris-Hamilton of Wadmalaw Island for helping with transcriptions and translations.

•113 2. See Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy;* Harold Carter, *The Prayer Tradition of Black People* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1976); William H. Pipes, *Say Amen Brother* (New York: William Federal Press, 1951); and Jones-Jackson, "Oral Tradition."

782 533 3. The prayers are normally accompanied by music. If no musical accompanist is available, the prayer giver and the congregation create their own musical accompaniment with handclaps, shuffles, and moans.

113 4. See Carter, *Prayer Tradition;* Pipes, *Say Amen Brother;* and Molefe Asante, *African and African-American Communication Continuities* (New York: Council of International Studies, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1975).

782 126 128 5. This prayer was delivered impromptu by Mr. James Brown, who is known for his ability to deliver stirring words with absolutely no prior preparation. I am grateful to him and Rev. Renty Pinckney for permitting me to record this prayer during church services. I am likewise grateful to Rev. Chester R. Jones for his comments on my analysis of the prayer. I owe special thanks to Rev. Alfred Owens of Greater Mt. Calvary Holy Church, Washington, D.C., for his invaluable assistance in providing references for the many biblical allusions in the prayer. All references are to the King James Version.

000 6. Ps. 51, David's cry for repentance and mercy, may have been a model for this passage.

7. Matt. 8:20; Luke 9:58.

8. Rom. 6:12, 8:11; 1 Cor. 15:53–54; John 15:1.

9. Matt. 4:3; 1 Thess. 3:5.

10. John 1:32.

11. Phil. 3:13.

12. Ps. 1:14.

13. John 12:2, 25:4.

14. 2 Cor. 7:5.

782 15. The speaker adapts his prayer to fit the occasion by including the purpose for which he is offering his prayer in strategic places. Many of the following passages are based on the Sermon on the Mount and the Beatitudes; the speaker brings them into his prayer as responses (e.g., "Want my spirit meek and mild").

[793] 16. The minister is often considered the assembler and leader of the community as well as of the church. Thus, like Moses, he is viewed as a deliverer of the people, one chosen by God to be the inheritor of the silver trumpet. See Num. 10:1–10.

17. This is a rural expression of the idea from Matt. 7:24–29 that whosoever builds his house on solid rock shall not be moved by the storms of life.

18. Jerusalem is not only the holy biblical city but, literally, the name of the AME church in which this prayer was delivered.

000 19. 1 Cor. 15:53–54.

782 20. "Ain't gonna study war no more" is a reference from an old Negro spiritual. The concept itself comes from several references to war in the Bible, such as Ps. 46:0, Isa. 2:4, and Mic. 4:3.

000 21. Rom. 14:10–12; 2 Cor. 5:10; Matt. 16–27.

22. Job 3:17.

128 23. I am again indebted to Mrs. Ida Morris-Hamilton, who assisted in transcribing this sermon from a recording made during the church service.

538 113 24. For further discussion of the call-and-response technique see Grace Sims Holt, "Stylin' outta the Black Pulpit," in *Rappin' and Stylin' Out*, ed. Thomas Kochman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), pp. 189–204.

538 128 [113] 25. The Gullah and African tales given in this chapter are classified according to the scheme set out by Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson in *The Types of the Folktale* (Helsinki: *Suomalainen Tiedeakatenia*, 1961). Motifs and the names and numbers assigned to tale types are from Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, 6 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955–58).

In the search for systematic methods of presenting such paralinguistic features as voice quality and nonverbal expressive phenomena, Ray L. Birdwhistell proposed a system of notation for describing certain sound phenomena, for example, an arrow pointing upward or downward to indicate various pitch ranges. He likewise developed an elaborate notational system for analyzing body motions and gestures, a system that distinguished hip, leg, ankle, shoulder, wrist, arm, and other movements (see Birdwhistell, *Kinesics and Context*). Some of these notations are quite complex, and they are not yet widely used. Here, because the language of the narratives is complex in itself for most English-speaking readers, I decided to eliminate reading handicaps by minimizing foreign symbols that would tend to interrupt the natural flow of the tales.

538 26. For example, Richard Dorson has a variant of this tale in *American Negro Folktales*, p. 114.

000 27. This observation was brought to my attention by Charles Joyner, who is a native of the South Carolina coastal area.

113 28. See Harris, *Nights with Uncle Remus;* Parsons, *Folklore of the Sea Islands;* Finnegan, *Limba Stories;* Florence M. Cronise and Henry Ward, *Cunnie Rabbit, Mr. Spider and the Other Beef* (Chicago: Afro-Am Press, 1969); and Dorson, *African Folklore*.

000 29. The precautionary measures taken here do not assure that the Igbo tales collected were not influenced by other cultures. No culture can be totally without outside influence; I tried only to decrease the likelihood of obtaining tales with non-African origins. Accordingly, I collected the tales from children and adults only in their native tongue. Although English is a second language in Nigeria, those in remote areas have little reason to use it. I also did not ask to hear any particular type of tale, nor put any restrictions on the length or number of tales told by any one person. I asked simply to hear some of their stories.

30. I am indebted to the renowned Igbo writer Obi Egbuna for his observations concerning African folktales and their implications in Igbo society. Any misrepresentations that might remain are, of course, my own.

•113 31. See Cronise and Ward, *Cunnie Rabbit.*

32. See Finnegan, *Limba Stories;* and Cronise and Ward, *Cunnie Rabbit.*

33. See Harris, *Nights with Uncle Remus;* and Martha Warren Beckwith, *Jamaica Anansi Stories* (New York: American Folklore Society, 1924).

34. See Dorson, *African Folklore;* and Parsons, *Folklore of the Sea Islands.*

Chapter 4

101 175 567 1. On *Gullah* see Wood, *Black Majority,* p. 335. For *Geechee* see Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect,* p. 194. As many as 70 percent of the slaves brought to the Sea Islands may have come from Angola. As far back as 1822, the Charleston City Council regarded the word *Gullah* as a corruption of *Angola.* John G. Williams wrote in the *Charleston Sunday News,* 10 February 1895: "Gullah is very probably a corruption of Angola, shortened to Gola, a country of West Africa, and part of Lower Guinea, from which a great many negroes were brought to this country in the days of the slave trade. I remember hearing the old plantation negroes before the war speak of one as a 'Gullah nigger' and another as a 'Guinea nigger.'" When members of the [829] Georgia Writers Project of 1940 asked an elderly man if he could remember any of the people brought over from Africa, he replied: "'Yas, I know heaps ub um. Deah wuz "Golla" John Wiley, "Golla" Jim Bayfield—he wuz bought by Mahse Charles Lamar, and he sole im to Mr. McMullen. Den deah wuz "Golla" Jack, "Golla" Tom, "Golla" Silvie, "Golla" Charles Carr. . . . All duh people wut come frum Africa aw obushseas wuz call "Golla," and dey talk wuz call "Golla" talk'" (*Drums and Shadows,* p. 66).

000 2. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect.*

823 3. Water is symbolic of life, happiness, and goodwill on the Sea Islands, and water from certain areas on the islands is felt to have curative properties. Thus Francis's reply is not without some merit.

197 113 4. For early studies on Gullah see George Phillip Krapp, "The English of the American Negro," *American Mercury* 2 (June 1924): 190–95; Reed Smith, *Gullah,* Bulletin of the University of South Carolina, no. 190 (Columbia: *University of South Carolina Press,* 1926); and H. L. Mencken, *The American Language: Supplement II* (New York: Knopf, 1942).

5. Ambrose E. Gonzales, *The Black Border* (Columbia, S.C.: The State Co., 1922), p. 10.

6. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect,* p. 296.

[114] 7. To take one interesting example of nonstandard speech, Ian Hancock has recently informed me that an African-Seminole variety of English is spoken in Oklahoma and Texas. This mixture is unsurprising: Africans and Indians have coexisted since the beginning of foreign migrations into America.

8. See Irma Cunningham, "A Syntactic Analysis of Sea Island Creole (Gullah)." (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan; 1970); Nichols, *Linguistic Change in Gullah;* Joyner, "Slave Folklife," or *Down by the Riverside,* pp. 196–224; and Jones-Jackson, "The Status of Gullah."

9. See DeCamp, "Toward a Generative Analysis."

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192 10. The African derivations of these words are from Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*.

114 11. For a critical appraisal of Turner's methodology see P. E. H. Hair, "Sierra
551 Leone Items in the Gullah Dialect of American English," *African Language Review* 4 (1965): 79–84.

12. DeCamp, Foreword to Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, pp. vii–viii.

197 13. For a detailed discussion of the processes involved in language contact see
192 Talmy Givón, "Prolegomena to Any Creology" (Department of Linguistics, University of California, Los Angeles, Mimeo, 1973).

121 14. According to Wolfram (personal communication), the "matrix of cruciality" refers to linguistic features that are important to control in situations where one would be expected to use a form of standard English.

193 15. For a fuller syntactical analysis of Gullah than follows here, see Cunningham, "Syntactic Analysis." See Jones-Jackson, "The Status of Gullah," for a full representation of creole features in context.

16. See Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, p. 225.

(113) 17. See Dietrich Westerman and M. A. Bryan, *The Languages of West Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).

18. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, p. 211.

19. See Nichols, "Linguistic Change in Gullah," for a detailed discussion and historical analysis of the complementizer *for*.

(113) 20. J. L. Dillard, *Black English* (New York: Random House, 1972).

Appendix 1

113 1. Jackson, Slaughter, and Blake, "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource."

Appendix 3

194 1. For a full discussion of the phonemes in Gullah, see Jones-Jackson, "The Status
113 of Gullah," and Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*.

Appendix 4

128 1. All quotations in this appendix are from the film documentary *When Roots Die*,
126 produced by me in conjunction with WHMM TV at Howard University and the South Carolina ETV network. I owe special thanks to Charles Sessoms, who helped to write and who directed the film. Likewise, I am indebted to Henry Cauthens, director of the South Carolina ETV network, for providing a crew (Patrice Abrams, Jimmy Dinkins, and Joe Bowie) to undertake the filming in South Carolina; and to Edward Hawthorne, dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and Arnold Wallace, general manager of WHMM TV, Howard University, for providing the funds.

000 2. Robert Browne, founder of the National Emergency Land Fund and research scholar for the Black Economic Research Center (personal communication).

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CHAPTER I

Gullah Roots

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> The majority of the tribes of the Upper Guinea Coast were active participants in the Atlantic slave-trade. . . . But the Mandingas, Susus and Fulas stood well to the fore—partly because of their own key role in the slaving operations on the Upper Guinea Coast, and partly because they succeeded in reducing many of the littoral peoples and the inhabitants of the Futa Djalon to a state of vassalage, under the banner of Islam.*

> But I must own to the shame of my own countrymen, that I was first kidnapped and betrayed by my own complexion, who were the first cause of my exile and slavery; but if there were no buyers there would be no sellers.**

Ethnic Origins and Carolina Preferences

European traders divided the African shoreline into Upper and Lower Guinea, although opinions differed on where the division occurred. In this study Upper Guinea refers to the area from the Senegal River north, called the Senegambia, to the Cross River south, termed the Slave Coast. Lower Guinea is south of the Slave Coast, to the Kongo-Angola region. Most Africans imported into South Carolina were taken from trading stations in four areas of the Guinea Coast. From Lower Guinea Africans mainly from the Kongo and Angola region comprised black cargoes destined for Charleston. From Upper Guinea they came from the land between the Senegal and Gambia Rivers, present-day Gambia; from the

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[113] *Walter Rodney, "African Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave-Trade," *Journal of African History* 8, no. 3 (1966): 436.

[113] **Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evils of Slavery* (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1969; repr. from 1787 ed.), 12.

CHAPTER 2

The Socioreligious Heritage

171

> One of the most interesting problems of pre-colonial history is the relation of so-called secret societies to indigenous government. . . . Associations of this kind are prevalent . . . and are particularly numerous in the coastal area of rain-forest . . . including the Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone. . . . They are not secret in any other respect. On the contrary, not only is the existence of these societies known . . . , but in many places the wide range of their activities makes them the dominant social force.[*]

> In the case of a burial site, the coffin and the mound are the obvious containers; the soul of the deceased is the spark. In addition, . . . there are decorative objects that, in both Kongo and the Americas, cryptically honor the spirit in the earth, guide it to the other world, and prevent it from wandering or returning to haunt survivors. . . . The surface "decorations" frequently function as "medicines" of admonishment and love, and they mark a persistent cultural link between Kongo and the black New World.[**]

Upper Guinea Culture Circles

Just as the impact of the slave trade in the West Atlantic region of the Guinea Coast has been treated with relative disinterest, so also has this area's cultural homogeneity either been glossed over or dismissed as the result of recent intergroup contact and European administration. For purposes of study Upper Guinea is not particularly rich in documentation, nor did the societies there possess high degrees of political central-

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[113] [*] Kenneth Little, "The Political Function of the Poro," Part I, *Africa, Journal of the International African Institute* 35 no. 4 (October, 1965): 349.

[113] [**] Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African & Afro-American Art & Philosophy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), 132.

CHAPTER 3

Missionaries and Masters

> 000 The ignorance therefore of these poor slaves in the principles of Christianity in a Christian country and under a Christian government is not so much their fault as their unhappiness in falling into the hands of such ill masters who not only neglect to instruct them but scoff at those that attempt it, and give them likewise strange ideas of Christianity from the scandalous lives they lead.*

> We apprehend the Master, acting according to the law of your Province, in gelding his slave hath not committed any crime, to give any offence to any member to break communion with him in the Church.**

Anglicans

175 In 1701, about thirty years after the founding of Carolina, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was established in order to bring the Anglican church to the British colonies. The SPG was also chartered to Christianize so-called heathen blacks and Indians. In South Carolina the two missions were at variance throughout the Society's presence there.[1]

South Carolinians first came into contact with Indians through trade and war. The practice was to enslave Indian prisoners of war, and early eighteenth-century letters of Society missionaries mention Indian slaves often enough to indicate their sizable presence among the bondspeople. The Society hoped to address the spiritual needs of both slave and free

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*South Carolina Clergy to Gideon Johnston, March 4, 1712, SPGLL, BV6, reel 6, series A, vol. 8.

(113) **Baptist Church in Devon, England to Baptist Church at Charles Town 1710, from William G. McLoughlin and Winthrop D. Jordan, eds., "Baptists Face Barbarities of Slavery in 1710," *Journal of Southern History* 29 (November, 1963): 501.

[p. 67]

3: Creel H-4 (no date) 1988
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CHAPTER 4

Christianity, Bondage, and the Great Awakening

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> Just as Mr. Whitefield was naming his text and looking round . . . as I thought directly upon me, and pointing his finger, he uttered . . . "Prepare to meet thy God O'Israel." . . . I was struck to the ground and lay both speechless and senseless. . . . When the people were dismissed, Mr. Whitefield came in to the vestry, and being told of my condition he came immediately, and he said, "Jesus Christ has got thee at last."*

> As among us religious instruction usually descends from parents to children, so among them it must at first ascend from children to parents, or from young to old.—They are as 'twere a Nation within a Nation. In all country settlements, they live in contiguous houses, often 2, 3, or 4 families in one house, slightly partitioned into so many apartments, so they labor together, and converse almost wholly among themselves, . . .**

The Coming of George Whitefield

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The late 1730s were trying times for South Carolina as one calamity after another befell the province. In 1737, widespread fear and alarm occurred over a pending Spanish attack which never came. In 1738 and 1739 smallpox and yellow fever ravaged the colony. In 1739 the Low-country was shaken by a slave uprising that left more than sixty people dead. It was no wonder that many residents of pleasure-loving Charleston were psychologically prepared for the coming of George Whitefield

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*William Aldridge, ed., *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, A Black*, 4th ed. (London: Gilbert and Plummer, 1785), 13.

**Alexander Garden to London Office, May 6, 1740, Box 20 from Lambeth Palace Library, vol. 941, no. 72, Ms. of Archbishop of Canterbury.

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[p. 80]

CHAPTER 5

An Almost Chosen People

> "How is it," asked Samuel Johnson, "that we hear the loudest *yelps* for liberty among the drivers of negroes?"* 000

> Mingo said *that all those belonging to the African Church are engaged in the insurrection, from the country to the town—that there is a little man among them who can't be shot, killed, or caught, who was to be their general, and who would provide them with arms—that some arms were provided but he did not tell me where they were.*** 175

Rebels and Outlaws: White Independence, Black Liberation

On November 9, 1861, a Massachusetts man, S. M. Weld, was going through "old pamphlets and newspapers" in the garrett of Baptist planter William Pope's deserted house at Hilton Head Island. It was two days after the battle of Port Royal. The papers Weld found had apparently been "thrown out and forgotten by the owner," who like every other white Sea Islander, had fled to the mainland at the thundering sound of Yankee gunboats. Among the pamphlets found was one entitled "Official Report of the Trials of Sundry Negroes Charged with an Attempt to Raise An Insurrection in the State of South Carolina." Weld observed that the pamphlet was rare, since every effort was made to destroy all

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*Quoted from Ira Berlin, "The Revolution in Black Life," in Alfred F. Young, ed., *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976), 35. [113)

**Testimony of slave informant Willian, in Lionel Kennedy and Thomas Parker, *The Trial Record of Denmark Vesey*, Intro. by John Oliver Killens (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970; repr. from 1822 ed., and published under title: *An official report of the trials of sundry Negroes*), 85–86. (113)

[p. 113]

CHAPTER 6

"Religion of the Warm Heart": Plantation Missions and Methodist Impact

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> But when, in sight of our own doors, there were thousands of immortal beings, the slaves of a superstition as degrading, and an idolatry as dark as . . . the Pagans of savage lands; and when we observed that comparatively little was doing to guide them to purity to God, we have blushed for our own inconsistency. . . .[*]

> In slabery, nigger go to white folks chu'ch. Slabe don't know nutting 'bout baptizing. W'en nigger dead, you can't knock off wuk for berry um. You berry um by de light ob torch. . . . Dey wasn't no nigger preacher on de plantation but dey been people to hold praise. (prayers).[**]

The Movement

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The South Carolina Methodist hierarchy was apparently stimulated into action as a result of the Denmark Vesey Conspiracy and other events. Methodists came to view religious instruction of slaves as their particular calling. The mission was designed to Christianize the slaves on the one hand, and on the other, to demonstrate that Christianity would not foment rebellion or threaten the public peace. Rather than a two-edged

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[*] James O. Andrew, "The Southern Slave Population," *MMQR* 13 (1831): 314–15.

[**] Sam Polite, former slave, in George P. Rawick, ed. *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, 19 vols. *South Carolina Narratives*, vols. 2 & 3, in 4 Parts, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing, 1972), III: (3)274.

CHAPTER 9

Folk Religion in the Slave Quarters

> 175 All was silent on the plantation. The sun had gone down and the chill December wind which blew crisply from the tide-river had driven the people into the cabins. Here and there all over the plantation, like the throbbing stars which night had called to light her world, the red glow of the fireplaces flashed out into the darkness through the open doorways, as if to mark the heart of a home. Suddenly a sharp persistent jingle broke the silence. It was the Praise House bell calling the people of the plantation together for their evening "Praise". . . .*

> 575 771 The secret societies are an embodiment of . . . supernatural power. Collectively, they provide an institutional structure which bears . . . similarities to the medieval church in Europe. . . . They lay down various rules of conduct, prescribe certain forms of behavior and are the sole agency capable of remitting certain sins.**

175 567 On the Sea Islands, one rarely saw a plantation home that did justice to the name "big house," since most planters maintained their more elegant residences elsewhere. But there was always a large, airy "main house," sometimes inhabited by the planter and his family during the spring and cold season. The main house was situated about half a mile from the overseer's abode. Not too far away from the overseer's residence were [361] the yards and outbuildings, followed by the slave quarters. Gullahs called their quarters "the street," and it was described as "a real street in the

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[113] *"The Long Look," n.d., misc. corr., Penn School Papers, vol. 1, SHC.

**Kenneth Little, "The Role of the Secret Society in Cultural Specialization" American Anthropologist 51 (1949): 199.

[p. 276]

Notes

Introduction

1. C. J. Calhoun, "History, Anthropology and the Study of Communities: Some Problems in Macfarlane's Proposal," *Social History* 3, no. 3 (1978): 369, and his "Community: Toward a Variable Conceptualization for Comparative Research," *Social History* 5, no. 1 (1980): 109–16. For other views of community, see for instance Thomas Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1978); and Robert Redfield, *The Little Community: Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955). 121 113

2. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 89; C. J. Calhoun, *The Question of Class Struggle: Foundations of Popular Radicalism during the Industrial Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 159. While Calhoun's views on community are useful here, we strongly disagree on other issues, especially regarding his anti-E. P. Thompson view of how ideologies affect laboring classes. Calhoun, *Question of Class Struggle*, passim. [114]

3. Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, 90–105, 124.

4. Robert T. Parsons, *Religion in an African Society* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964), 173–76, 179, 183–85; James L. Sibley and D. Westermann, *Liberia Old New* (London: James Clarke 1928), 187–88; John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophies* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1959), 2–16; Robert Farris Thompson and Joseph Cornet, *The Four Moments of the Sun: Kongo Art in Two Worlds* (Washington, D. C.: National Gallery of Art, 1981), 85–93.

5. W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* in *Three Negro Classics* (New York: Avon Books, 1965, first pub. 1903), 213–21, 337–49; Julius Lester, ed. *The Seventh Son: The Thoughts and Writings of W. E. B. DuBois*, 2 vols. (New York: Random House, 1971) I: 252–62, 277–82; Manning Marable "The Faith of W. E. B DuBois: Sociocultural and Political Dimensions of Black Religion," *The Southern Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (Fall, 1984): 15–33; Sterling Brown, et al., eds., *The Negro Caravan* (New York: Dryden Press, 1941); 6, 412–21; Sterling Stuckey, "Through the Prism of Folklore: The Black Ethos in Slavery," *The Massachusetts Review* 9, Pt. 2 (Summer, 1968) 417–37. Stuckey's newly completed work is an addition to the new scholarship. However it was unavailable when my book went to press. Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness; Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 3–135, 54.

[p.355]

3: Creel H-4 (no date) 1988

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121 6. Levine, *Black Culture and Consciousness*, 36–37, 43, 49–51, 75–77.

•113 7. Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), ix.

8. August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915–1980* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 191.

(114) 9. Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 92. For a discussion of how Raboteau's view "minimizes the contribution of African ritual traditions" see Robert Simpson, "The Shout and Shouting in Slave Religion in the United States," *The Southern Quarterly* 23, no. 3 (Spring, 1985): 40–46.

10. Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 152.

11. Ibid., Chapters 3 and 4.

12. Ibid., x.

13. Edward H. Carr, *What Is History?* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 23–35.

14. Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, Chapters 5 and 6.

114 113 15. Vincent Harding, *There Is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983). Years ago, Harding explored relationships between religion and resistance among slaves. See his "Religion and Resistance among Antebellum Negroes, 1800–1860," in August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, eds., *The Making of Black America* I (New York: Atheneum, 1969), 179–97.

16. Harding, *There Is a River*, Introduction.

17. Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), passim.

18. Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), passim, but especially xvi–xvii, 3–149, 280–84, 597–98, 658–60.

19. Meier and Rudwick, *Black History*, Chapter 3 and 258–65.

20. See for example Paul D. Escott, *Slavery Remembered: A Record of Twentieth Century Slave Narratives* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979) 18–35; E. P. Thompson, "Eighteenth-Century English Society: Class Struggle without Class?" *Social History* 3, no. 2 (1978): 134–37; Eric Perkins, "Roll, Jordan, Roll: A 'Marx' for the Master Class," *Radical History Review* 3, no. 4 (1976): 41–59; Gutman, *Black Family in Slavery and Freedom*, 309–20; For the most recent interpretation in support of paternalism, see Peter Kolchin, *Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987) 103–57, 195–241.

114 567 21. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 283. According to Elkins, the typical American slave was labeled "Sambo" in Southern lore. "Sambo" was "loyal but lazy, humble but chronically given to lying and stealing: his behavior full of infantile silliness and his talk inflated with childish exaggeration." The "Sambo" of the Old South was compared by Elkins to what he termed a similar personality type, the prisoners of Auschwitz-Birkenau. The author states that they were one and the same historically, both products of a "closed" and "authoritarian" system. This personality type developed in the United States and in Nazi Germany but not in Latin America, according to Elkins, because Latin American institutions protected slaves while American institutions did not protect slaves nor German institutions protect Jews. Stanley Elkins, *Slavery, a Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), 82, 63–79, 73, 136–37, 175–217.

114 22. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 209–232.

23. Ibid., 281.

113 24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., 212.

26. Ibid., 283–84.

121 27. Georg Lukács, *History and Class Consciousness, Studies in Marxist Dialectics*, trans. Rod-
567 ney Livingstone (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1973), 46–59.
28. Ibid.; Arthur P. Mendel, ed., *Essential Works of Marxism* (New York: Bantam Books,
113 1961), 15–16.

29. John Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972 ed.), 200–201.

30. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 329–88, 441.

31. Ibid., xvii.

113 32. John M. Janzen and Wyatt MacGaffey, *An Anthology of Kongo Religion: Primary Texts from Lower Zaire* (Lawrence, Kans.: University of Kansas Publications in Anthropology, No. 5, 1974), 2–3.

Prologue

1. Mason Crum, *Gullah, Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), 3, 19–22, 78; Guion G. Johnson, *A Social History of the Sea Islands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930), 112, 130; Paul Quattlebaum, *The Land Called Chicora* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958), 86–88.

2. The spelling of Kongo with a K instead of C is used by some Africanists. It refers to
175 the traditional, unitary civilization and way of life of BaKongo peoples. The C spelling
567 represents the political shift that occurred with white colonial penetration and partition in
Central Africa. Traditional Kongo civilization includes modern Bas-Zaire, neighboring Cabinda, Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, and Northern Angola. The ancient civilization was once under the united suzerainty of the kingdom of Kongo. The language is KiKongo, although dialects vary widely in this Bantu-speaking world of Africa. The numerous ethnic groups and some neighboring ones share cultural and religious traditions. They also share memo-
113 ries of the trials and tears left in the wake of centuries of transatlantic trade in slaves. John
M. Janzen and Wyatt MacGaffey, *An Anthology of Kongo Religion: Primary Texts from Lower Zaire* (Lawrence, Kans.: University of Kansas Publications in Anthropology, No. 5, 1974), 1–3; Robert Farris Thompson and Joseph Cornet, *The Four Moments of the Sun: Kongo Art in Two Worlds* (Washington, D. C.: National Gallery of Art, 1981), 27; Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 103; Wyatt MacGaffey, *Custom and Government in the Lower Congo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 11; Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 30–36, 44–45, 134–35, 411.

101 3. *SCG*, March 27, 1742; Reed Smith, "Gullah," *A Reprint of Bulletin #190 of the Uni-
113 versity of South Carolina* (Columbia: State Printing Co., 1926), 3–4; Winifred Vass, *The Bantu Speaking Heritage of the United States* (Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, 1979), 31.

4. Smith, "Gullah," 3–4; *SCA*, December 22 and 29, 1843; Elizabeth Hyde Botume,
197 *First Days Amongst the Contrabands* (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1968;
113 repr. from 1893 ed.), 54, 57. Peter Wood also suggests that perhaps Gullah derived from a "multiple etymology." See *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1974), 172, n. 12.

174 5. Lorenzo D. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1969; repr. from 1949 ed.).

114 6. See reviews and discussions by Raven I. McDavid, Jr., *Language: Journal of the Lin-
113 guistic Society of America* 26 (April–June, 1950): 323–32, and Morris Swadish, *Word: Journal*

174 *of the Linguistic Circle of New York* 7 (April, 1951): 82–83; P. E. Hair, "Sierra Leone Items
114 in the Gullah Dialect of American English," *Sierra Leone Language Review* no. 4 (1965): 79–
• 113 84; Frederick G. Cassidy, "The Place of Gullah," *American Speech* 55 no. 1 (Spring, 1980):
3–14.

[101] 7. Turner, *Africanisms in Gullah*, 194. Gullahs often referred to themselves as "countrymen," as a way of identifying themselves as African-born. When asked what their language was, they would reply, "the way we talk." Mary A. Twining and Keith E. Baird, "Introduction to Sea Island Folklife," *Journal of Black Studies* 10, no. 4 (June, 1980): 398; Donald R. Kloe, "Buddy Quow: An Anonymous Poem in Gullah-Jamaican Dialect Written Circa 1800," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (June, 1974): 82–84.

8. Hair, "Sierra Leone Items in Gullah," 79–81.

9. Ibid., 83.

[567] 10. Turner, *Africanisms in Gullah*, passim; Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*; Wood, *Black Majority*. Wood does suggest, however, that the Windward Coast slaves had a special appeal and significance because South Carolinians recognized their familiarity with rice, the colony's main export. The Windward Coast was also called the Grain Coast and in specific areas the Rice Coast. As Wood observes, "Throughout the era of slave importation in South Carolina references can be found concerning African familiarity with rice." Wood, *Black Majority*, 59–60. Daniel Littlefield further explored Wood's idea and provides an exception to the general emphasis on Kongo-Angolan influences. See his *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981). Another important author, the late Walter Rodney, also early recorded the significance of Upper Guinea in the transatlantic trade, although Rodney was not specifically writing about South Carolina. See his *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).

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113 11. Turner, *Africanisms in Gullah*, 91, 194; Twining and Baird, "Introduction to Sea Island Folklife," 397–98.

12. Turner, *Africanisms in Gullah*, 63, 151, 189; see Chapters 2 and 9.

174 13. Ibid., 136, 138; Wood, *Black Majority*, 131, 302, 334–39; Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit*, Chapter 2, 107, 108; Hair, "Sierra Leone Items in Gullah," 83; Kloe, "Buddy Quow," 87; Cassidy, "Place of Gullah," 7–14. Linguist Ian Hancock believes that KiKongo speech "cannot be counted as a contributing factor to Gullah," despite the large numerical representation, because BaKongo peoples did not go through a creolization process. He argues, even more forcefully than Hair, for Upper Guinea Coast influences since some of these Africans already spoke a creole because of contact with whites on the Guinea Coast. While assessment of Upper Guinea linguistic impact appears sound, Turner, Cassidy and others continue to support significant Kongo and Gold Coast influences. Ian F. Hancock, "Gullah and Barbadian—Origins and Relationships," *American Speech* 55 no. 1 (Spring, 1980): 27–32.

(113) 14. Roger Bastide, *African Civilizations in the New World*, trans. Peter Green (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 106, 154, 161; Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958 repr. from 1941 ed.); Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit*, Chapter 2; Thompson and Cornet, *Four Moments of the Sun*, 151–57, 178–203.

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561 15. Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964).

113 16. Arthur Sumner to Lt. Joseph Clark, January 23, 1863, Penn School Papers, vol. 4, SHC.

17. Diary of William F. Allen, 25, 44, 83–84, in William F. Allen Family Papers, 1775–

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1937, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison; David Thorpe to John Mooney, January 25, 1863, Thorpe Series, James McBride Dabbs Papers, SHC.

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18. Charles Sumner to Nina Hartshorn, July 7, 1862, Penn School Papers, vol. 4 SHC. See also Frances Anne Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1863), 218–19; Sir Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1859), I: 244–45; *SCA*, July 14, 1863 and December 29, 1843; Allen Diary, 18, 127–28, 151–54.

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19. For an extensive bibliography on works about Gullahs and the need for more modern approaches, see Mary A. Twining, "Sources in the Folklore and Folklife of the Sea Islands," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 39 (1975): 135–50; In 1980 the *Journal of Black Studies* devoted an entire issue to Sea Island culture. Twining and Baird, eds., *Journal of Black Studies*; Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, passim; Charles Joyner, *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), passim.

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20. Harriott Pinckney Rutledge to Edward Rutledge, August 5, 1822, Pinckney Papers, SCHS; James Hamilton, *Negro Plot* (Charleston: Joseph W. Ingraham, 1822), 291; Benjamin Elliott, "To Our Northern Brethren," quoted in Edwin C. Holland, *A Refutation of the Calumnies Circulated against the Southern and Western States, Respecting the Institution and Existence of Slavery among Them* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1822), 79; Lionel Kennedy and Thomas Parker, *The Trial Record of Denmark Vesey*, Intro. by John Oliver Killens (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970; repr. from 1822 ed. and published under title: *An Official Report of the Trials of Sundry Negroes*), 13–14, 76–79; F. A. Mood, *Methodism in Charleston* (Nashville: E. Stevenson and J. E. Evans, 1856), 130–31; William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row. 1965), 72–76; Susan Markey Fickling, "Slave Conversion in South Carolina, 1830–1860" (M. A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1924), 16–17; Thomas Bennett to Richard Furman, 1822, Furman Papers, SCL; Henry Irving Tragle, *The Southampton Slave Revolt of 1831: A Compilation of Source Materials* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1971); Rev. Leroy F. Beaty, *Work of South Carolina Methodism Among the Slaves: An Address Delivered Before the Historical Society of the South Carolina Conference*, November 26, 1901, HSSCC, 9–10; C. C. Pinckney to William Capers, January 24, 1835, HSSCC; Luther Porter Jackson, "Religious Instruction of Negroes, 1830–1860," *Journal of Negro History* 15 (1930): 79–79.

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21. Charles C. Pinckney, *An Address Delivered in Charleston Before the Agricultural Society of South Carolina, At Its Annual Meeting, 18th August, 1829* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1829), passim; James O. Andrew, "The Southern Slave Population," *MMQR* 13 (1831): 315–17; Charles C. Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969; repr. from 1842 ed.), 16–18; 80; *Proceedings of the Meeting in Charleston, South Carolina, May 13–15, 1845 on the Religious Instruction of the Negroes* (Charleston: B. Jenkins, 1845), passim; Beaty, *Work of South Carolina Methodism*, 13–34, HSSCC; Report of the Board of Managers of the South Carolina Missionary Society, in *SCA*, January 3, 1851.

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1. Gullah Roots

1. James Pope-Hennessy, *Sins of Our Fathers: A Study of the Atlantic Slave Traders, 1441–1807* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), 38; Daniel Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 34–36; Basil Davidson, *The African Slave Trade: Precolonial History, 1450–1850*,

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originally published as *Black Mother* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961), 105; Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958; repr. from 1941 ed.), 34–40; Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), passim; Daniel P. Mannix and Malcolm Cowley, *Black Cargoes: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1518–1865* (New York: Viking Press, 1969), 14–20; The term Upper Guinea Coast has altered over centuries. Here our definition is taken from Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 2, 7; Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols. (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution, 1935), vol. 4, *The Southern Colonies*, passim; Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760–1810* (Atlantic Highlands, N. J.: Humanities Press, 1975), 58–60.

2. Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 131; Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 156; Elizabeth Donnan, "The Slave Trade into South Carolina before the Revolution," *American Historical Review* 33 (1927–28): 816–17; William Snelgrave, *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea and the Slave Trade* (London: James, John and Paul Knapton, 1734; London: Frank Cass, 1971), 173–74; William Smith, *A Voyage to Guinea* (London: John Nourse, 1744; London: Frank Cass, 1967), 135; William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*, trans. John Ralph Willis (Holland, 1704; 4th English ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), 56–68; Mannix and Cowley, *Black Cargoes*, 17–18; Herskovits, *Negro Past*, 35; Pope-Hennessy, *Sins of Our Fathers*, 58–59.

3. Donnan, *Documents*, vol. 2, *The Eighteenth Century*, 282.

4. Ibid., II:xxxi–xxxiii, 355; IV:301, 382.

5. Wood, *Black Majority*, 301–4, Appendix C, 333–41.

6. Douglas L. Wheeler and Rene Pelissier, *Angola* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1971), 28–51; Davidson, *African Trade*, 144–52; Donnan, *Documents*, II:xvii–xviii; Herskovits, *Negro Past*, 37. Roger Bastide has written that the official documents concerning the Portuguese trade were burned after slavery was suppressed "in an effort to expunge a blot on the country's escutcheon." See Roger Bastide, *African Religions of Brazil: Toward a Sociology of the Interpretations of Civilizations*, trans. Helen Sebba (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1978), 33.

7. Jan Vansina, "Long Distance Trade Routes in Central Africa," *Journal of African History* 3 (1962): 375–90; Walter Rodney, "Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave Trade," *Journal of African History* 8, no. 3 (1966): 431, 440; Quoted from Herskovits, *Negro Past*, 37–38.

8. Vansina, "Trade Routes," 375–83; Lorenzo D. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1969; repr. from 1949 ed.), passim; Winifred Vass, *The Bantu Speaking Heritage of the United States* (Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, 1979), 9–19. Wheeler and Pelissier, *Angola*, 6–10; Herskovits, *Negro Past*, 38; Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 157, Table 45.

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9. Wheeler and Pelissier, *Angola*, 6–10; Placide Tempels, *Bantu Philosophy*, trans. Colin King (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1959), passim; H. P. Junod, *Bantu Heritage* (Johannesburg: Hortors, 1938; Westport, Conn.: Negro University Press, 1970), 59–67, 82–102, 125–33; Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 103; *Gentleman's Magazine* 35 (October 1764): 487; Leila Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), 143; Augustine Smyth et al., *The Carolina Low Country* (New York: Macmillan, 1931) 173; Vass, *Bantu Heritage*, 3–5; Wood, *Black Majority*, 96–130, 195–217, 272–326; Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves*, 11–15.

10. Wood, *Black Majority*, 52–153, 324–35. From 1741 to 1743 a prohibitive duty was imposed. In 1744 four African cargoes arrived. No slave cargoes entered Charleston in 1745 and from 1746 and 1748 another prohibitive duty was in effect. Three African cargoes arrived in 1749 and 1750, respectively. By 1752 the trade was once again in full swing. Donnan, "Slave Trade before the Revolution," 807–8; W. E. B. DuBois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969; repr. from 1896 ed.), 9–10; W. Robert Higgins, "The Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves in Colonial South Carolina," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 70 (1971): 42–43. 175 113 567 [669]

11. Wood, *Black Majority*, 148, 323; Frank J. Klingberg, *An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina: A Study in Americanization* (Washington, D. C.: Associated Publishers, 1941), 69–70; 72; Converse D. Clowse, *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina, 1730–1760* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 206, 230–32. Rice was never raised to any large extent on the Sea Islands since salt water in poisonous to the rice plant. Some Sea Islands did have a few fresh water ponds where rice was grown, but the amount was small and only for local consumption. Guion G. Johnson, *A Social History of the Sea Islands* (Chapel Hill: University of the North Carolina Press, 1930), 18; Frederick V. Emerson, "Geographical Influences in American Slavery," *Geographical Society Bulletin* 63 (1911): 108–9. [669

12. William A. Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1968), 51; Emerson, "Geographical Influences," 108–11; Edward McCrady, *South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719–1776* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 386–88; Higgins, "Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves," 35, 37, 46–47; Robert L. Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina, 1728–1765*, (Kingsport, Tenn.: Southern Publishers, 1940), 37–38; Philip D. Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry, 1760–1810," in Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983), 84; Peter Wood offers interesting evidence which points to Africans' immunity to certain diseases, such as malaria. Yet, as he states, this was not "absolute." Moreover, Todd L. Savitt notes that malaria certainly took its toll in human losses among slaves. He maintains that some blacks did possess an inherited immunity to one or another strain of malaria. But adds that even adult African-born slaves had to go through a "seasoning" period because the "strains of malarial parasites in this country differed from those in their native lands." The "acquired" immunity that blacks reportedly developed was "risky," according to Savitt, since this involved repreated, uninterrupted exposure to malaria over a period of years. Furthermore, we must rely heavily on the words of colonial whites with a vested interest in rationalizing that blacks were more suited to labor in the Carolina swamps and marshes. Africans may have had a varied immunity to certain diseases, but it appears unlikely that this determined white attitudes toward black labor. For Wood, See *Black Majority* 85–88, 90–91. See also Todd L. Savitt, *Medicine and Slavery: The Diseases and Health Care of Blacks in Antebellum Virginia* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illiois Press, 1978), 21–26.

13. Schaper, *Sectionalism* 55–56; Emerson, "Georgraphical Influences," 112; Higgins, "Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves," 40–46; Johnson, *Social History*, 18–19; McCrady, *South Carolina under Royal Government*, 267–69; Donnan, *Documents*, IV: passim; See Appendix A.

14. Ellen Gibson Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976), 48; Philip M. Hamer, et al. eds., *Papers of Henry Laurens*, 10 vols. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968), IV: 294–95. 175 113

15. *SCG*, July 14, 1759.

16. Hamer, *Laurens Papers*, I:252, 331.

3: Creel H-4 (no date) 1988

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175 •113 [197] [177] 17. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves*, 74–114, Additionally Ian Hancock partly bases his contention of the prevalence of Upper Guinea influence in Gullah dialect on the introduction of creole-speaking slaves brought to South Carolina from this region of Africa. The number of Africans speaking Guinea Coast creole English was small compared to those who spoke no English. Yet the former could have begun the process of spreading creolized English to the latter. Ian F. Hancock, "Gullah and Barbadian—Origins and Relationships." *American Speech* 55 no. 1 (Spring, 1980): 27–30.

18. Richard Jobson, *The Golden Trade or A Discovery of the River Gambia* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1623), 42, 123–25; Francis Moore, *Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa* (London: J. Stagg, 1739), 17–29, 30–32, 38–39, 47–52, 72–73, 80–82, 105–22; Michel Adanson, *A Voyage to Senegal, the Isle of Goree and the River Gambia* (London: J. Nourse and W. Johnston, 1759), 166; Joseph Corry, *Observations Upon the Windward Coast of Africa* (London: Frank Cass 1958; repr. from 1807 ed.), 64–66; David McPherson, *Annals of Commerce*, 4 vols. (London: Johnson Reprint Co., 1972; repr. from 1805 ed.), IV: 141–42; Harry Gailey, Jr., *A History of the Gambia* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 6, 11, 13; Sellers, *Charleston Business*, 143; David P. Gamble, *The Wolof of Senegambia* (London: International African Institute, 1957), 31–37; Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 1–4; Mannix and Cowley, *Black Cargoes, 15–16; SCG*, July 2, 1760, October 11, 1760, August 29, 1761; *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, March 13, 1769, May 8, 1769, June 22, 1769, July 2, 1771, August 13, 1771, December 1, 1772. June 1, 1773, July 18, 1774, January 13, 1785, December 1, 1772.

19. Appendix A; *SCG*, August 19, 1756, June 23, 1756.

[567] 20. Donnan, *Documents*, IV: 404 n.; Higgins, "Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves," 41; Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry," 84–85; DuBois, *African Trade*, 90; Schaper, *Sectionalism*, 81–88, 149–62; Sellers, *Charleston Business*, 29–30, 128; Appendix A; Wood, *Black Majority*, 333–41. Higgins states that many slaves, prior to 1775, entered Charleston but were not employed in Carolina. The Sea Island port of Beaufort did some importing as well, although Higgins gives no port-by-port importation breakdown. He believes the "majority of all Negroes in the United States today are descended from blacks brought to North America during the colonial period." This has even stronger implications for the spread of cultural influences by ethnic groups of the middle period of the trade. Higgins, "Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves," 39, 46–47.

17 113 21. Rodney, *History of Upper Guinea*, 3–15, 233.

22. Moore, *Travels*, 29–35, 40–51; Jobson, *Golden Trade*, 27–37, Adanson, *Voyage to Senegal*, 57–59; Smith, *Voyage to Guinea*, 32; Rodney, *History of Upper Guinea*, 117; Charlotte Quinn, *Mandingo Kingdoms of the Senegambia* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1972), 1–54; Gailey, *History of Gambia*, 10–17; Henry Fenwick Reeve, *The Gambia: Its History, Ancient, Medieval and Modern* (London: Smith, Elder, 1972), 12, 73, 78–79, 171–79, 180–81, 198–203; Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 156–67.

175 113 23. Rodney, *History of Upper Guinea*, 112–15, 116–17; Moore, *Travels*, 41–44; Reeve, *Gambia, Ancient Medieval, Modern*, 171–78.

24. Moore, *Travels*, 42–43.

25. Douglas Grant, *The Fortunate Slave* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), Chapter 4, 156–67; Moore, *Travels*, 205–8; Rodney, *History of Upper Guinea*, 116–17. Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*. For another example of a black nobleman being sold into slavery see Terry Alford, *Prince Among Slaves* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986; repr. from 1977 ed.).

26. Rodney, *History of Upper Guinea*, 111–17, 236–39.

27. John Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra Leone* (London: Frank Cass, 1966; repr.

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from 1788 ed.), 13, 18, 74–75, 91–95, 141–42; Corry, *Windward Coast*, 94–95; Thomas Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighborhood of Sierra Leone*, 2 vols. (London: Frank Cass, 1969; repr. from 1803 ed.), I: 3–7; Rodney, *History of Upper Guinea*, 232–39; Fyfe, *Sierra Leone*, 2–3, 5–6, 9, 65; Robert T. Parsons, *Religion in an African Society* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964), xiv. 226.

28. Rodney, *History of Upper Guinea*, 236–53; Appendix A.

29. Kenneth Little, *The Mende of Sierra Leone* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951), Paul, 1951), 28–29, 37–39; Fyfe, *Sierra Leone*, 5–6.

30. Higgins, "Georgraphical Origins of Negro Slaves," 41; James L. Sibley and D. Westermann, *Liberia Old and New* (London: James Clarke, 1928), 45–46; Sir Harry Johnston, *Liberia*, 2 vols. (London: Hutchinson, 1906), I: 107–10; II: 921–24, 947–48, 1095–96: Warren L. d'Azevedo, "The Setting of Gola Society and Culture: Some Theoretical Implications of Variation in Time and Space," *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* (Berkeley: University of California, 1959), 21, 51.

31. d'Azevedo, "Gola Society and Culture," 55–59; Rodney, *History of Upper Guinea*, 255.

32. Folkways Research Series, *Tribes of the Western Province and the Dewoin People* (Monrovia: Dept. of Interior 1955) 140–42; and *The Traditional History and Folklore of the Gola Tribe in Liberia*, 2 vols. (Monrovia: Dept. of the Interior, 1961) I: 2–3; Rodney, *History of Upper Guinea*, 255.

33. Rodney, *History of Upper Guinea*, 253.

34. Diary of William F. Allen, 63, in William F. Allen Papers, 1775–1937, State Historical Society of Wisconisn, Madison; Donald R. Kloe, "Buddy Quow: An Anonymous Poem in Gullah-Jamaican Dialect Written Circa 1800," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (June, 1974): 82–84, 87; Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 20–21.

2. *The Socioreligious Heritage*

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1. Warren L. d'Azevedo, "The Setting of Gola Society and Culture: Some Theoretical Implications of Variation in Time and Space," *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* (Berkeley: University of California, 1959), 43–45, 67–68; Walter Rodney, A *History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 32–33, 65; Kenneth Little, *The Mende of Sierra Leone* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951), 7–8, 240–42, and "The Poro Society as Arbiter of Culture," *African Studies* 7 (March, 1948): 1; M. McCulloch, *Peoples of Sierra Leone* (London: International African Institute, 1950), 29–37, 68–69, 81–82, 93; George W. Harley, "Notes on the Poro in Liberia," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University* 19 (1941): 6; James L. Sibley and D. Westermann, *Liberia Old and New* (London: James Clarke, 1928), Chapters 5–9; Folkways Research Series, *Tribes of the Western Province and the Dewoin People* (Monrovia: Dept. of Interior, 1955), 17, 24–32; Robert T. Parsons, *Religion in an African Society* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964), 140–51.

2. Rodney, *History of Upper Guinea*, 32–33, 65–67; Kenneth Little, "The Political Function of the Poro," Part I, *Africa* 35 (October, 1965): 349–50.

3. Nicholas Owen, *Journal of A Slave Dealer, A View of Some Remarkable Axedents in the Life of Nicholas Owen on the Coast of Africa and America From the Year 1746 to the Year 1757* (London: George Routledge, 1930), 30–31.

4. John Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra Leone* (London: Frank Cass, 1966; repr. from 1788 ed.), 82–83.

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ligion in Africa (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1969), 39–41, 83–86; Little, *Mende*, 2, 217–18; W. T. Harris and Harry Sawyerr, *The Springs of Mende Belief and Conduct: A Discussion of the Influence of the Belief in the Supernatural Among the Mende* (Freetown: Sierra Leone University Press, 1968), 2–13, 119–20; Parsons, *Religion in an African Society*, 22–24, 163–69; Folkways Research Series, *Traditional History of Folklore of the Glebo Tribe*, 2 vols. (Monrovia: Dept. of Interior, 1955 and 1961) II: 83, 123, and *Tribes of the Western Province*, 18, 21, 25, 27; William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*, trans. John Ralph Willis (Holland, 1704; 4th English ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), 156; Harry Gailey, Jr., *A History of the Gambia* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), 6–7; Gamble, Wolof, 39; Thomas Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighborhood of Sierra Leone*, 2 vols., (London: Frank Cass, 1969; repr. from 1803 ed.), I: 222, 226; Joseph Corry, *Observations Upon the Windward Coast of Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1958, repr. from 1807 ed.), 60–61; Karl Laman, *Kongo*, 5 vols. (Uppsala: Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia, 1962) III: 1–2, 53–63; Georges Balandier, *Daily Life in the Kingdom of the Kongo, from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Helen Weaver (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968), 244–45; W. C. Willoughby, *The Soul of the Bantu: A Sympathetic Study of the Magico-Religious Practices and Beliefs of the Bantu Tribes of Africa* (Westport, Conn.: Negro Universities Press, 1970, originally published 1928), 72–76; John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophies* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1959), 4–5, 28–38, 159–62; Willie Abraham, *The Mind of Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 52–56; Beryl L. Bellman, *Village of Curers and Assassins; on the Production of Fala Kpelle Cosmological Categories* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1975), 129–30; see also John S. Mbiti, *Concepts of God in Africa* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970). This author's approach seems more theological than anthropological or historical. African concepts of God are placed in Christian theological terms rather than discussed and interpreted in their own contextual environments. An older study is Edwin Smith, ed., *African Ideas of God* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1950). It provides the best information on concepts of God among various African peoples.

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14. Jahn, *Muntu*, 109–14; Parsons, *Religion in an African Society*, 167–69, 181; Sibley and Westermann, *Liberia*, 194–96; Little, *Mende*, 218–221; Harris and Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, 14–18, 30–33; Abraham, *Mind of Africa*, 63–64; Mbiti, *African Religions*, 6–7; John M. Janzen and Wyatt MacGaffey, *An Anthology of Kongo Religion: Primary Texts from Lower Zaire* (Lawrence, Kans.: University of Kansas Publications in Anthropology, No. 5, 1974), 34; Robert Farris Thompson and Joseph Cornet, *The Four Moments of the Sun: Kongo Art in Two Worlds* (Washington, D. C.: National Gallery of Art, 1981), 27–28, 42–47, 134, n. 50, and passim; Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 103–58; Balandier, *Daily Life in Kongo*, 245–49.

15. Parrinder, *Religion in Africa*, 26; Mbiti, *African Religions*, 159–62; Harris and Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, 88–90; Sibley and Westermann, *Liberia*, 199; Folkways Research Series, *Tribes of the Western Province*, 18, 27, 29; Rattray, *Religion in Ashanti*, 153; Abraham, *Mind of Africa*, 59–60; Danquah, *Akan Doctrine of God*. 153–64.

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16. Laman, *Kongo*, III: 1–6, 216–18; Thompson and Cornet, *Four Moments of the Sun*, 43.

17. Willoughby, *Soul of Bantu*, 76–82; Parsons, *Religion in an African Society*, 26–27, 75–76; Harris & Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, 14–18; Rattray, *Religion in Ashanti*, 216; Abraham, *Mind of Africa*, 63–64; Opoku, *West African Religion*, 35–39; Mbiti, *African Religions*, 11–12, Amponsah, *Topics on African Traditional Religion*, 85–91.

18. Igor Kopytoff, "The Suku of Southwestern Congo," in James L. Gibbs Jr., ed.,

17 •113 *Peoples of Africa* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), 450–52, 458; Wyatt MacGaffey, *Custom and Government in the Lower Kongo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 84; Laman, *Kongo* II: 130–31; Balandier, *Daily Life in Kongo*, 246–47.

19. Laman, *Kongo*, II: 22–23; Balandier, *Daily Life in Kongo*, 217–20, 246–57; Willoughby, *Soul of Bantu*, 71, 77–82, 315; Weeks, *Among the BaKongo*, 158–71.

171 113 771 775 20. Weeks, *Among the BaKongo*, 266–68, 278; Laman, *Kongo*, II: 92; MacGaffey, *Custom in Lower Kongo*, 148–50; Willoughby, *Soul of Bantu*, 86; Opoku, *West African Religion*, 36–39; Amponsah, *Topics on African Traditional Religion*, 86; Harris and Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, 30–33; Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958; repr. from 1941 ed.), 206; Roger Bastide, *African Civilizations in the New World*, trans. Peter Green (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 106, 161; Thompson and Cornet, *Four Moments of the Sun*, 181–203; Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit*, 132–58; John M. Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts* (Cleveland, Ohio: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978), 139–47; Elizabeth A. Fenn, "Honoring the Ancestors; Kongo-American Graves in the American South," *Southern Exposure* 28 (September–October, 1985): 42–57; "Notes and Documents; Antebellum and War Memories of Mrs. Telfair Hodgson," Sarah Hodgson Torian, ed., *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (December, 1953): 352; Albert H. Stoddard, "Origin, Dialect, Beliefs and Characteristics of the Negroes of the South Carolina and Georgia Coasts," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 28 (September, 1944): 181–93; Irving E. Lowrey, *Life on the Old Plantation* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1911), 81–86; South Carolina Folklore Project, #1655, D-4-27A, WPA, SCL: Folk-Lore Scrap-Book, "Mortuary Customs and Beliefs of South Carolina Negroes," from an article originally published in the *Atlanta Constitution* by May A. Waring, *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 7 (1894): 318–19.

171 113 21. Opoku, *West African Religion*, 147–51; Amponsah, *Topics on African Traditional Religion*, 80–84; Parsons, *Religion in an African Society*, 50–55, 71–72, 186; Harris and Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, Chapter 4; Sibley and Westermann, *Liberia*, 211–213; Balandier, *Daily Life in Kongo*, 248–50; Laman, *Kongo* III: 81–104; Weeks, *Among the BaKongo*, 214–20, 232–35; Willoughby, *Soul of Bantu*, 192–95; Thompson and Cornet, *Four Moments of the Sun*, 37; Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit*, 106–7, 117–19; E. J. Glave, "Fetishism in Congo Land," *Century* 41 (November–April, 1890–91): 825–26.

22. Parsons, *Religion in an African Society*, 50–55, 71–72, 186; Harris and Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, Chapter 4; Sibley and Westermann, *Liberia*, 211–13; Laman, *Kongo*, III: 57, 81–104, 157–59; Weeks, *Among the BaKongo*, 231–36; Thompson and Cornet, *Four Moments of the Sun*, 110–14; Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit*, 106–7, 117–21; Janzen and MacGaffey, *Kongo Religion*, 34–35; Mbiti, *African Religions*, 169, Chapters 15–16.

23. Sibley and Westermann, *Liberia*, 213–14; Harris and Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, 54–59; Rattray, *Religion in Ashanti*, 148–49; Mbiti, *African Religions*, 168–171, Chapters 15–16; Thompson and Cornet, *Four Moments of the Sun*, 37; Janzen and MacGaffey, *Kongo Religion*, 34–35; Laman, *Kongo*, III: 81–105.

24. Mbiti, *African Religions*, 166–67, Rattray, *Religion in Ashanti*, 38–39; Parsons, *Religion in an African Society*, 71–72; Sibley and Westermann, *Liberia*, 211; Folkways Research Series, *History of Gola Tribe*, II: 22–23; Glave, "Fetishism in Congo Land," 828–29; Weeks, *Among the BaKongo*, 214–18; Thompson and Cornet, *Four Moments of the Sun*, 37, 110–14; Laman, *Kongo*, II: 130–32.

(791) 25. *SCA*, June 26, 1840, June 26, 1843, October 30, 1847; *Minutes; Beaufort Baptist Church*, "Origin of the Colored Societies," October 7, 1859, Business Meeting in which organization of societies was discussed, 271–72, January 7, 1842 and November 1, 1840, 12, BC; *SCA*, Diary of Laura M. Towne, 52, 162, Penn School Papers, SHC; John L. Field to George W. Moore, March 21, 1833, HSSCC.

26. Folklore Project, #1655 and #1855, D-4-27A, 27B, WPA, SCL; Lowrey, *Old Plantation*, 113
83–87; Towne Diary, 98; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Folk-lore of the Sea Islands of South* 567
Carolina (Cambridge, Mass.: American Folk-lore Society 1923), 211–13; E. Horace Fitchett, 771
"Superstitions in South Carolina," *The Crisis* 43 (1936): 360–71; Henry F. Davis, "Folklore
in South Carolina," *Journal of American Folklore* 27 (1914): 245–49; Leonora Herron
and Alice M. Bacon, "Conjuring and Conjure Doctors," *Southern Workman* 24 (1895): 118;
Louis Pendleton, "Notes on Negro Folklore and Witchcraft in the South," *Journal of American*
Folklore 3 (1890): 301–17; Balandier, *Daily Life in Kongo*, 248–50; Laman, *Kongo*, III:
216–21; Glave, "Fetishism in Congo Land," 834–36; James R. Stuart Recollections, n.d.,
circa 1850, 2–4, SHC; Charles A. Raymond, "Religious Life of the Negro Slave," *Harpers*
New Monthly Magazine 27 (June–November, 1963): Part I, 478–80, Part II, 676, Part III,
821; David Thorpe to John Mooney, January 25, 1863, Thorpe Series, James McBride
Dabbs Papers, SHC.

27. Despite the exalted modern application of the term "ontology" in its reference to 771
abstract being, "ontology" originally referred to that which belongs to existent finite being. 113
See Walter Brugger, ed., *Philosophical Dictionary*, trans. Kenneth Baker (Spokane: Gonzaga
University Press, 1972), 301–2 ("Ontology"). With regard to African culture and spirituality, [171)
the concept of being cannot be restricted to the physiological, as opposed to the
psychological or fantastic sphere.

28. MacGaffey, *Custom in Lower Kongo*, 261–62; Parsons, *Religion in an African Society*, 171
173–76, 179, 183–85; Parrinder, *Religion in Africa*, Chapters 2–6; Placide Tempels, *Bantu* 113
Philosophy, trans. Colin King (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1959), passim; Sibley and Westermann,
Liberia, 187–88; Abraham, *Mind of Africa*, 52; Harris and Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*,
115–17; Mbiti *African Religions*, 2–16.

29. Michael Welton, "Themes in African Traditional Belief and Ritual," *Practical Anthropology* [771)
18 (1971): 1–8; E. Bolaji Idowu, *African Traditional Religion, A Definition* (London:
SMC Press, 1973), 61–68; *CAJ*, January 31, 1834; *SCA*, July 28, 1843, February 16, 1844,
October 30, 1846; Charlotte Forten, "Life on the Sea Islands," Part I, *Atlantic Monthly* 13
(June, 1864): 592.

30. Mbiti *African Religions*, 210–13; Abraham, *Mind of Africa*, 106; Sibley and Westermann, *Liberia*, 190–91; Parsons, *Religion in an African Society*, 174, 183–84; Harris and Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, 103–5; Parrinder, *Religion in Africa*, 41, 81–89; Tempels, *Bantu Philosophy*, Chapters 5–6; Jahn, *Muntu*, 110, 114–17; Amponsah, *Topics on African Traditional Religion*, 70–80; Opoku, *West African Religion*, 152–60.

31. Mbiti, *African Religions*, 16.

32. Harris and Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, 117–21; Thompson and Cornet, *Four Moments of the Sun*, 84.

33. Tempels, *Bantu Philosophy*, 64–66; Jahn, *Muntu*, 121–27; Sibley and Westermann, *Liberia*, 187–202; Abraham, *Mind of Africa*, 48–49, 52, 59–62; Parsons, *Religion in an African Society*, 174–93; Harris and Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, 123–24; Mbiti, *African Religions*, 15–16, Chapters 11–14; Parrinder, *Religion in Africa*, 78–83; Thompson and Cornet, *Four Moments of the Sun*, 27–99; Opoku, *West African Religion*, 91–139; Amponsah, *Topics on Traditional Religion*, 48–68.

3. *Missionaries and Masters*

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1; Faith Vibert, "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: Its work for 797
the Negroes in North America before 1783," *Journal of Negro History* 25 (April, 1933): 171, 113
182–84, 188–89; John C. Van Horne, ed., *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The*

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175 *Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717–1777* (Urbana and Chicago: University of
797 Illinois Press, 1985), 25; Sidney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (
● 113 Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972), 196–97. There was a tendency
some early missionaries to indiscriminately refer to Indians and Africans as "blacks.
Van Horne, *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery*, 39, n. 20.

2. Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 37–38; Samuel Thomas to Dr. Bray, January 20, 1702, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 1, series A, vol. 1; Francis Varnod to SPG, January 13, 1723, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 6, series B, vol. 4 (1); Thomas Nairne to Dr. Marston, August 20, 1705, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 12, series A, vol. 2.

175 3. South Carolina Clergy to Gideon Johnston, March 4, 1712, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 6,
797 series A, vol. 8; William Taylor to SPG, May 15, 1716, SPGLL, BV 7, reel 6, series B,
vol. 4 (1); Gilbert Jones to SPG, November 16, 1716, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 13, series B,
567 vol. 4 (1).

113 4. Francis Le Jau to SPG, March 22, 1708–9, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 3, series A, vol.
South Carolina Clergy to Gideon Johnston, March 4, 1712, SPGLL.

5. Robert Maule to SPG, Summer, 1710, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 5, series A, vol. 5.

175 6. Richard Ludlam to SPG, 1725, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 11,series A, vol. 19; Francis
Varnod to SPG, April 3, 1728, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 12, series A, vol. 21; Robert Stevens
797 to SPG, February 21, 1705, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 2, series A, vol. 2.

113 7. Frank Klingberg, ed., *Carolina Chronicle, the Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707–
1716* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946), 118–19; South
Carolina Clergy to Gideon Johnston, March 4, 1712, SPGLL.

175 8. Thomas Naire to Dr. Marston. August 20, 1705, SPGLL; Lewis Jones to SPG,
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113 *Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina: A Study in Americanization* (Washing
D. C.: Associated Publishers, 1941), 66–68; Wood, *Black Majority*, 127–30; M. Eug
Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina, A Political History 1663–1763* (Chapel Hill: University of
North Carolina Press, 1966), 111–16; Verner W. Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 1670–1732 (Ann
Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964), 168–69, 184–85.

175 9. Lewis Jones to SPG, January 26, 1727–28; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 81, 99.

10. Lewis Jones to SPG, January 26, 1727–28; Wood. *Black Majority*, 150.

567 11. Verner W. Crane, "Dr. Thomas Bray and the Charitable Colony Project, 1730,"
797 *William and Mary Quarterly* 19, 3d. ser. (January, 1962): 58–61; Sirmans, *Colonial South
Carolina*, 168–69; Henry A. M. Smith, "Purrysburgh," *South Carolina Historical and Genea-
113 logical Magazine* 10 (October, 1909): 189–91; Van Horne, *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial
Slavery*, 1–18.

12. Van Horne, *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery*, 18–19.

13. Smith, "Purrysburgh," 187–95; Van Horne, *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery*, 17–18; Arnold Dallimore, *George Whitefield, Life and Times of the Great Evangelist of the Eighteenth Century Revival*, 2 vols. (Guildford and London: Billing and Sons, 1970), 1 Walter Brooks, "The Priority of the Silver Bluff Church and its Promoters," *Jou Negro History* 7 (April, 1922): 172–96; "Letters Showing and Rise and Progress of the Negro Churches of Georgia and the West Indies," *Journal of Negro History* 1 (January, 1916): 69–92; Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 139–42; *CAJ*, January 31, 1834, June 20, 1834.

14. Klingberg, *Appraisal of the Negro*, 66–68, 69–70, 72; Wood, *Black Majority*, 314–26.

15. Klingberg, *Appraisal of the Negro*, 70–74; Van Horne, *Religious Philanthropy and Colo-*

nial Slavery, 72; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 231–32; Edward McCrady, *South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719–1776* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 238, 240–42; David T. Morgan, "The Great Awakening in South Carolina, 1740–1775," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 70 (Fall, 1971): 595–606.

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16. A. S. Salley, ed., *Minutes of the Vestry of St. Helena's Parish, South Carolina, 1726–1812* (Columbia: State Co., 1919), 22–25; Frederick Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina* (New York: Arno Press, 1972; repr. from 1820 ed.), 379–81; Klingberg, *Appraisal of the Negro*, 72–74; Morgan, "Great Awakening in South Carolina," 602–3.

17. John Wikhead to SPG, September 26, 1715, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 6, series B, vol. 4 (1); Francis Varnod to SPG, January 13, 1723, SPGLL; South Carolina Clergy to Gideon Johnston, March 4, 1712, SPGLL.

18. Francis Varnod to SPG, January 13, 1723 SPGLL; John Fulton to SPG, December 4, 1730, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 12, series A, vol. 23; Richard Ludlam to SPG, 1725, SPGLL.

19. Samuel Thomas to SPG, December 25, 1702, SPGLL; Thomas Hassell to SPG, August 20, 1712, BV 6, reel 3, series A, vol. 7; Letters of J. Ottolenghe, July 12, 1758, SPG, London Ms. of Dr. Bray's Associates, Letters from the American Colonies, BX 19, reel 10; Klingberg, *Carolina Chronicle*, 118–19.

20. *SCG*, May 4, 1734; Wood, *Black Majority*, Chapter 10; *SCG*, April 16 and 23, 1737; David Barry Gaspar, *Bondmen and Rebels: A Study of Master-Slave Relations in Antigua* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985) 342.

21. Wood, *Black Majority*, 314–15, 324–25; For a discussion on the relationship between literacy, rebelliousness and Spanish agitation, see Klingberg, *Appraisal of the Negro*, 69–70; and Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 207–9.

22. Alexander Garden to SPG, May 6, 1740, Box 20 from Lambeth Palace Library, vol. 941, no. 72, Ms. of Archbishop of Canterbury; Klingberg, *Appraisal of the Negro*, 70–104; Garden attempted to interest the Bray Associates in his plans for a Negro school. He proposed that the two Purrysburgh missionaries alter their arrangement, pointing to the larger, more accessible black population in Charleston and better opportunities for success. The two Moravians presented the proposal to Oglethorpe and the Associates, but to no avail. The Purrysburgh missionaries reluctantly kept their commitment to the Associates. Van Horne, *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery*, 19.

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23. Klingberg, *Appraisal of the Negro*, 66–68; Wood, *Black Majority*, 323–24; Robert Maule to SPG, Summer, 1710, SPGLL; Dalcho, *Episcopal Church of South Carolina*, Chapter 4.

24. Sirmans *Colonial South Carolina*, 14–15, 76–77; Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 198; George Fox, *A Memoir of the Life, Travels, and Gospel Labours of George Fox* (London: Friends' Book and Track Depository, 1867), 263–65, 270, 279–80; Sidney V. James, *A People Among People: Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), 148–49; William F. Medlin, *Quaker Families in South Carolina and Georgia* (Columbia, S. C.: Ben Franklin Press, 1982), 7–11, 19. As Quakers strengthened their antislavery stand in the colonial era, they were less and less successful in South Carolina. By the time of the War for Independence, the Quakers had left South Carolina. Howard Beeth, "Outside Agitators in Southern History: The Society of Friends, 1650–1800" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Houston, 1984), 101, 424–51.

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25. Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 36–37; Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1670–1719* (New York: Macmillan 1897), 334, 325–26; Joe Madison King, *A History of South Carolina Baptists* (Columbia: General Board, South Carolina Baptist Convention, 1964), 10–13.

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26. F. Varnod to SPG, April 3, 1728, SPGLL; H. A. Tupper, ed., *Two Centuries of the*

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175 •113 *First Baptist Church of South Carolina, 1683–1883* (Baltimore: R. H. Woodland, 1899), 7, 39, 56–59, 84–86, 94–97; A. H. Newman, *A History of the Baptist Church in the United States* (New York: Christian Literature, 1894), 1–79, 221–26, 242–52; David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and Other Parts of the World* (New York: Lewis Colby, 1848), 700–702; Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 172–73; King, *South Carolina Baptists*, 26–35. There is some controversy over Screven's actual arrival with the largest group of Baptists. The Charleston Baptist Church maintains that the date of its establishment and Screven's arrival is 1683. Baptist historian Joe M. King places it at 1696. Here we use the generally accepted date of 1683. King, *South Carolina Baptists*, 13.

27. Samuel Thomas to SPG, January 25, 1712, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 1, series A, vol. 1; Francis Le Jau to SPG, August 30, 1712, SPGLL BV 6, reel 5, series A, vol. 7.

28. Lewis Jones to SPG, January 26, 1727–28, SPGLL; Francis Varnod to SPG, April 3, 1728, SPGLL; John Fulton to SPG, December 4, 1730, SPGLL; Klingberg, *Appraisal of the Negro*, 74–75; King, *South Carolina Baptists*, 25–35.

175 567 29. Francis Le Jau to SPG, February 20, 1711, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 4, series A, vol. 7; William G. McLoughlin and Winthrop D. Jordan, eds., "Baptists Face the Barbarities of Slavery in 1710," *Journal of Southern History* 29 (November, 1963): 497–501.

113 30. McLoughlin and Jordan, "Baptist Face the Barbarities of Slavery," 496–98; New Jersey prescribed death for slaves convicted of murder, arson, mutilation or rape of a white woman, and castration for attempted rape. The Lords of Trade (in London) denounced such "inhumane penalities on Negroes," and the Privy Council voted to disallow the law. See Edgar McManus, *Black Bondage in the North* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1973), 84–85; *Documents Relating to the Colonial, Revolutionary, and Post-Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey* 42 vols. (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society), 3:473–74; W. L. Grant and James Munro, eds. *Acts of the Privy Council: Colonial Series, 1613–1783*, 6 vols. (London: Wyman Publishers), 2:848.

31. McLoughlin and Jordan, "Baptists Face the Barbarities of Slavery," 496–98.

32. King, *South Carolina Baptists*, 14–17, 26–35.

4. *Christianity, Bondage, and the Great Awakening*

175 113 1. Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 77, 81, 308–9; Edward McCrady, *South Carolina under the Royal Government 1719–1776* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 180, 185–88; Eugene Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina, A Political History 1663–1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 207–8; David T. Morgan, "The Great Awakening in South Carolina, 1740–1775," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 70 (Fall, 1971): 595–96.

2. William Seward, *Journal of a Voyage from Savannah to Philadelphia and from Philadelphia to England* (London: James Buckland, 1740), 5; Arnold Dallimore, *George Whitefield, Life and Times of the Great Evangelist of the Eighteenth Century Revival*, 2 vols. (Guildford and London: Billing and Sons, 1970), I: 418–19, II: 60, 139–43; John Pollack, *George Whitefield and the Great Awakening* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1972), 3–10, 47–54, 62–68; *George Whitefield's Journals* (Guildford and London: Billing and Sons, 1960; repr. unabridg. from 1905 ed., with unpubl. Journal, first publ. 1938), 82–93, 156–59, 302–11, 571–88; Sir James Stephens, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, 5th ed. (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1837), 382–83, 389–90.

3. Whitefield, *Journals*, 165.

4. Ibid., 302–5; Pollack, *Whitefield and Great Awakening*, 45–50, 63–71.

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5. Dallimore, *Whitefield, Great Evangelist*, II: 413–42; Whitefield, *Journals*, 338–62 and passim.

6. Dallimore, *Whitefield, Great Evangelist*, I: 442–43; Whitefield, *Journals*, 384–85.

7. Whitefield, *Journals*, 384–85.

8. Ibid., 386–89.

9. Ibid., 400–401.

10. Dallimore, *Whitefield, Great Evangelist*, I: 482–83; Frank J. Klingberg, *An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina: A Study in Americanization*, (Washington, D. C.: Associated Publishers, 1941), 71–73; Seward, *Journal*, 5; Whitefield, *Journals*, 401, 439–49; Morgan, "Great Awakening in South Carolina," 596–602. Whitefield was preaching to up to 4,000 listeners in Charleston in 1740 on his summer tour. He finally grew tired of listening to Garden bewail against him and no longer attended St. Philip's when he was in the city. Instead he "went to the Baptist and Independent meeting-houses, where Jesus Christ was preached." Whitefield, *Journals*, 449–50.

11. McCrady, *South Carolina under Royal Government*, 246–47; Rev. Alexander Garden to Rev. Samuel Smith, September 24, 1742, in John C. Van Horne, ed., *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: the Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717–1777* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 93–94, 338; Klingberg, *Appraisal of the Negro*, 101–17.

12. Klingberg *Appraisal of the Negro*, 113–14, 119–22; McCrady, *South Carolina under Royal Government*, 245–46, 439–40.

13. Klingberg, *Appraisal of the Negro*, 121, n. 56; McCrady, *South Carolina under Royal Government*, 247.

14. Klingberg, *Appraisal of the Negro*, 119–21; Clarke's population estimate was very close to the mark. Philip D. Morgan's recent article places the Lowcountry population at 53,257 in 1760. See his "Black Society in the Lowcountry, 1760–1810," in Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1983), 85, Table 1.

15. Seward, *Journal*, 6, 7, 11; Whitefield, *Journals*, 379; Stephen J. Stein, "George Whitefield on Slavery: Some New Evidence," *Church History* 42, no. 2 (June, 1973): 243, 248.

16. Pollack, *Whitefield and Great Awakening*, 124–26; Dallimore, *Whitefield Great Evangelist*, I: 482–84, 495–501; Seward, *Journal*, 10; Alexander Garden, *Six letters to the Rev. George Whitefield*, 2nd ed. (Boston: T. Fleet, 1740), passim; Stein "George Whitefield on Slavery." 244.

17. Whitefield, *Journals*, 406–7; Seward, *Journal*, 10; Dallimore, *Whitefield, Great Evangelist*, I: 495; *Three Letters from the Reverend Mr. G. Whitefield* (Philadelphia: B. Franklin, 1740), 13. Whitefield's "Letter . . . Concerning . . . Negroes" was written in Savannah in January 1740, *Three Letters from Whitefield*, 16.

18. *Three Letters from Whitefield*, 13–14.

19. Ibid., 14–16.

20. Ibid.

21. Thomas Hassell to SPG, August 30, 1712, SPGLL: Francis Le Jau to SPG, March 22, 1708–9, and February 20, 1711, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 3, series A, vols. 4–7.

22. John Fulton to SPG, May 25, 1734, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 13, series A, vols. 24–25.

23. Francis Le Jau to SPG, June 13, 1710, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 4, series A, vol. 5; John Fulton to SPG, December 4, 1730, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 12, series A, vol. 23; Francis Le Jau to SPG, March 22, 1708–9, and July 18, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 4, series A, vol. 6.

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24. Dallimore, *Whitefield, Great Evangelist*, I: 497, 509; Pollack, *Whitefield and Great Awakening*, 130–31; Garden, *Six Letters to Whitefield*, 50–53; *Three Letters from Whitefield*, 16.

25. Dallimore, *Whitefield, Great Evangelist*, I: 497, 509; Pollack, *Whitefield and Great Awakening*, 221–25; Betty Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia, 1730–1775* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 66–67; Stein "Whitefield on Slavery," 245; Stephens, *Ecclesiastical Biography*, 391; Stuart C. Henry, *George Whitefield, Wayfaring Witness* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957), 116–17; James Habersham to Countess Dowager of Huntington, December 31, 1770, *Letters of James Habersham 1756–1775*, Collections, Georgia Historical Society, vol. 6, 109–11.

26. Quoted from Henry, *Whitefield, Wayfaring Witness*, 117.

27. Donald Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality 1780–1845* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 5–6; Whitefield, *Journals*, 446–50; Dallimore, *Whitefield, Great Evangelist*, II: 219; *Hugh Bryan and Mary Hutson, Living Christianity, Delineated in the Diaries and Letters of two Pious Persons lately Deceased; Mr. Hugh Bryan and Mrs. Mary Hutson, both of South Carolina* (London: J. Buckland, 1750), 13, 70, 91, passim; William Maine Hutson, "The Hutson Family of South Carolina," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 9 (July, 1908): 127; Klingberg, *Appraisal of the Negro*, 70–71; Mrs. J. H. Redding, *Life and Times of Jonathan Bryan, 1708–1788* (Savannah: Morning News Print, 1901), 31–45; Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia*, 19.

28. Bryan and Hutson, *Living Christianity*, 1–4, 13; Redding, *Jonathan Bryan*, 7–9, 32; Whitefield, *Journals*, 446, 440, 502–4; Harvey H. Jackson, "Hugh Bryan and the Evangelical Movement in Colonial South Carolina," *William and Mary Quarterly* 47, 3d ser., no. 4 (October, 1986): 596–98; Henry, *Whitefield, Wayfaring Witness*, 70; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 231–32; McCrady, *South Carolina under Royal Government*, 238–43; Klingberg, *Appraisal of the Negro*, 71; Stein, "Whitefield on Slavery," 248–51.

29. Whitefield, *Journals*, 446, 450; Hutson, "Hutson Family," 127; Colonial Records of South Carolina, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, 1741–42*, 404, 406–8, and *1742–44*, 72; McCrady, *South Carolina under Royal Government*, 241–43; Jackson, "Hugh Bryan," 594, 605–9; David S. Lovejoy, " 'Desperate Enthusiasm': Early Signs of American Radicalism," in Margaret Jacob and James Jacob, *The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), 237, 241, n. 24.

30. Whitefield, *Journals*, 502–4; Dallimore, *Whitefield, Great Evangelist*, I: 586; Jackson, "Hugh Bryan," 600–3.

31. Jackson, "Hugh Bryan," 605–10; Lovejoy " 'Desperate Enthusiasm,' " 237; McCrady, *South Carolina under Royal Government*, 240–42; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 231–32; *Journal of the Assembly, 1741–42*, 406–8, 461–62.

32. *Journal of the Assembly, 1742–44*, 72–73, 364–368, 394, 398; Bryan and Hutson, *Living Christianity*, 55–126; Jackson, "Hugh Bryan," 604, 609, 613–14.

33. Morgan, "Great Awakening in South Carolina," 599–601; Mrs. R. W. Hutson, "Register kept by the Rev. William Hutson of Stoney Creek Independent Congregational Church and (Circular) Congregational Church in Charles Town, S. C., 1743–1760," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 38 (January, 1937): 21–33; Klingberg, *Appraisal of the Negro*, 70–71; Jackson, "Hugh Bryan," 606, 612–13.

34. Whitefield, *Journals*, 501; Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia*, 66, 92, 209, n. 12; Redding, *Jonathan Bryan*, 11–20, 29–30, 32–33.

35. Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia*, 84–87, 111, 114–15, 159–66; Walter Brooks, "The Priority of the Silver Bluff Church and its Promoters," *Journal of Negro History* 7 (April, 1922): 172–77; "Letters Showing the Rise and Progress of the Early Negro Churches of Georgia and the West Indies," *Journal of Negro History* 1 (January, 1916): 73, 77–78.

36. Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia*, 164–65, 195; "Early Negro Churches," 77–78, 83–86; Brooks, "Silver Bluff Church," 177, 182–84; William Aldridge, ed., *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, A Black*, 4th ed. (London: Gilbert and Plummer, 1785). 175 113 ●

37. Thomas Hassell to SPG, December 2, 1731 and March 12, 1712, SPGLL, BV 7, reel 6, series A, vol. 4 (2); Francis Varnod to SPG, January 13, 1723, SPGLL BV 7, reel 7, series B, vol. 4 (2); Peter H. Wood, "Jesus Christ Has Got Thee at Last," *Center for the Study of Southern Culture and Religion Bulletin* 3, no. 3 (November, 1979): 2–5.

38. Quoted from James B. Lawrence, "Religious Education of the Negro in the Colony of Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 14 (March, 1930): 46–47.

39. Ibid.

40. Donald R. Kloe, "Buddy Quow: An Anonymous Poem in Gullah-Jamaican Dialect Written Circa 1800," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (June, 1974): 82–85, 87–88. For a discussion which denies, incorrectly I think, that there is a distinction between Gullah and "generalized Black English vernacular," see J. L. Dillard, *Lexicon of Black English* (New York: Seabury Press, 1977), 103–4. An interesting discussion of Gullah as a Creole language is found in Charles Joyner, *Down By the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), Chapter 7: see also Wood, *Black Majority*, 172–90. For a discussion of cultural unity joining Gullahs with blacks of the Caribbean, see Velma Pollard. "Cultural Connections in Paule Marshall's *Praise Song for the Widow*," *World Literature Written in English* 25, no. 2 (1985): 285–98. For a fascinating, informative debate over the formulation of Creole and the impact of Upper Guinea versus Gold Coast and Angolan influences see Frederick G. Cassidy, "The Place of Gullah," 3–16, and Ian F. Hancock, "Gullah and Barbadian—Origins and Relationships," *American Speech* 55, no. 1 (Spring, 1980): 17–35. 175 197 113

41. See Chapter 2. Also see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1971). Thomas discusses systems of beliefs current in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, and retention of some beliefs after that time. As Thomas states, almost every "primitive" religion was for the adherents a means of gaining supernatural power. Yet this does not preclude religion as a means of explanation, decreeing of moral imperatives, or representation of social order. 175 113

42. Benjamin Pownall to SPG, October 24, 1723, SPGLL, BV 7, reel 7, series B, vol. 4(2); Alexander Garden to SPG, May 6, 1740, Box 20 from Lambeth Palace Library, vol. 941, no. 72, Ms. of Archbishop of Canterbury; J. Ottolenghe to SPG, July 12, 1758, November 18, 1754, SPG London Mss of Dr. Bray's Associates.

43. Robert Maule to SPG, Summer, 1710, and, Francis Le Jau to SPG, October 20, 1709, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 4, series A, vol. 5.

44. Ibid.; Thomas Hassell to SPG, March 12, 1712, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 5, series A, vol. 7.

45. Whitefield, *Journals*, 382–83, Stein, "Whitefield on Slavery," 246–47.

46. *Three Letters from Whitefield*, 14; Francis Varnod to SPG, April 3, 1728, SPGLL, BV 6, reel 12, series A, vol. 21; John Fulton to SPG, May 25, 1734, SPGLL William Taylor to SPG, May 15, 1716, SPGLL, BV 7, reel 6, series B, vol. 4 (1).

47. Bryan and Hutson, *Living Christianity*, 56, 57, 63, 72, 90, passim; Hutson, "Register of Stoney Creek Church," 22–26; Jackson, "Hugh Bryan," passim.

48. Bryan and Hutson, *Living Christianity*, 70–91.

49. Ibid., 63; *Journal of the Assembly, 1739–1741*, 230, 505.

50. Whitefield, *Journals*, 419, 422, 444, 446; Seward, *Journal*, 6–7; Aldridge, *Marrant Narrative*.

175 ancy between the number of runaways in Virginia and South Carolina, he notes the pres-
567 ence of more African-born slaves among the captive runaway population in South Carolina.
Thus the numbers of Africans in Carolina's slave population clearly accounts for some of
112 the difference between the two colonies.

[669] 4. *SCG*, September 8 to September 15, 1759, October 23, 1751, November 25, 1751, May 28 to June 4, 1754, June 16, 1758.

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113 5. Ibid., September 14 to September 21, 1747, June 25 to July 2, 1750; Eugene D. Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 69; Jill M. Watts, " 'We Do Not Live for Ourselves Only': Seminole Black Perceptions and the Second Seminole War," *UCLA Historical Journal* 7 (1986): 5–7; Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York: International Publishers, 1967; repr. from 1943 ed.), 197–98; Philip D. Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry, 1760–1810," in Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983), 92, 138.

6. *SCG*, March 4, 1756, April 29, 1754; Colonial Records of South Carolina, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, 1739–1741*, 230, 505; Watts, " 'We Do Not Live For Ourselves Only'," 6–7.

7. Michael P. Johnson, "Runaway Slaves and the Slave Communities in South Carolina, 1799–1820," *William and Mary Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (July, 1981): 3, 418, 433–36, 441. Although Professor Johnson is dealing with a later period, his research is applicable for the eighteenth century; *SCG*, March 17, 1724, April 21, 1759.

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113 8. *SCG*, September 17, 1772. This view of slavery in the Lowcountry, in terms of its harshaness, is different from that of Philip Morgan. He cites, for example, the transition from a period of negative to one of positive increase, as an important indicator of less harsh conditions and more black autonomy. Yet Morgan's table on natural increase shows an annual rate of only 1.9 percent as the highest, from 1770–75. This rate of increase appears far too negligible to tell us much about better contitions. Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry," 83–89.

9. *SCG*, September 17, 1772. For other manifestations of black assertion in urban Charleston see Peter H. Wood, " 'Taking Care of Business' in Revolutionary South Carolina: Republicanism and the Slave Society," in Jeffrey J. Crow and Larry E. Tise, eds., *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 268–93.

10. James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 4–34. For paternalistic arguments, see Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan Roll, the World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), xiv–xvii, 3–149, 280–84; also for a more measured discussion of paternalism, see Charles Joyner, *Down By the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 56, 231–32.

11. Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973; first pub. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: 1961), Preface; Ira Berlin, "The Revolution in Black Life" in Alfred F. Young, ed. *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976), 351–52; J. Madison, Jr. to William Bradford, November 26, 1774 and July 10, 1775, William Bradford Collection, HSP; Wood, " 'Taking Care of Business'," 283–87; and his " 'Impatient of Oppression'; Black Freedom Struggles on the Eve of White Independence," *Southern Exposure* 28 (October, 1985): 606, 612–13.

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113 12. Walter Brooks, "The Priority of the Silver Bluff Church and its Promoters," *Journal*

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of Negro History 7 (April, 1922): 176–77; Ellen Gibson Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons), 22–26, 41–57; James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783–1870* (New York: Delhousie University Press, 1976), 1–5, 10–12; Watts, " 'We Do Not Live For Ourselves Only'," 6–7, 12–13; Quarles, *Negro in the American Revolution*, 19–26, 113–14; Kenneth Coleman, *The American Revolution in Georgia, 1763–1789* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1958), 121–29, 130–31, 144; *Papers of the Continental Congress*, Inspection Rolls of Negroes, Book I, April 23–September 13, 1783, Book II, September 22–November 19, 1783, passim. The name "Mellia Marrant" and her two children, listed as slaves of John Marrant, raises the question of whether these were the slaves of Whitefield convert John Marrant. Marrant was born in New York and there is no reason to believe that the family (apparently free) took the surname of a white South Carolinian. Mellia Marrant may be the sister or wife of John who was impressed into the British navy during the war and eventually went to England. His services to the British would enable his family to be given a certificate of freedom, and he related in his narrative that he had family in Nova Scotia. See William Aldridge, ed., *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, A Black*, 4th ed. (London: Gilbert and Plummer, 1785).

13. Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), 325. For a view which argues that South Carolina blacks did not "take advantage of their owners' predicament during the Revolution," see Michael Mullin, "British Caribbean and North American Slaves in an Era of War and Revolution, 1775–1807," in Crow and Tise, *Southern Experience*, 235–36; this interpretation is also presented in Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry," 108–9. For a discussion of the Afro-American family during the War for Independence, see Mary Beth Norton et al., "The Afro-American Family in the Age of Revolution," in Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983), 157–91. For a discussion of structural manifestations of autonomy in black life during the postwar period, see Berlin, "The Revolution in Black Life," 363–71.

14. Quarles, *Negro in The American Revolution*, 171–72; "Memoirs of the Life of Boston King, a Black Preacher," *London Methodist Magazine*, 21 (1798–99) 105–110, 157–61, hereafter referred to as "Boston King Memoirs"; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks* 13, 30–31; Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 5, 7.

15. "Boston King Memoirs"; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 31–34, 56–66.

16. "Boston King Memoirs"; Aldridge, *Marrant Narrative*; Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 10–12; Quarles, *Negro in the American Revolution*, 156–57, 163–65, 171–77.

17. Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 16–21 and "Revolution in Black Life, 355; Oakes, *Ruling Race*, 28–29; Quarles, *Negro in the American Revolution*, 61, 102–04, 124–26, 163–66, 171–77; Philip S. Foner, *Blacks in the American Revolution* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975), 46; David Ramsey to Benjamin Rush, June 20, 1779, March 21, 1780, Rush Correspondence, Ramsey Letters, HSP; Wood, *Black Majority*, 124–30; Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 6–10; Quoted from Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 31, 41–47. For works on black participation in the War for Independence, see Sidney Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution, 1770–1800* (New York: New York Graphic Society, 1973); Graham R. Hodges, "Black Revolt in New York City and the Neutral Zone, 1775–1783." Unpublished paper presented at the New-York Historical Society Conference on the Constitutional Era in New York, May 15, 1987.

18. Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 30–31, 35–41; Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 38–43, 51–55, 59–64; Richard Wade, *Slavery in the Cities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 29–

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17 30; William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 9–10,
18–19; Guion G. Johnson, *A Social History of the Sea Islands* (Chapel Hill: University of
•113 North Carolina Press, 1930), 24–29, 50–54, Wikramanayake, *World in Shadow*, 117–18,
121–22; John Phillips, *An Appeal to Matters of Fact and Common Sense, Recommended to the Serious Consideration of the Inhabitants of Charleston, South Carolina* (New York: T. Kirk, 1798), passim; Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry." Although Morgan does not see much black participation during the War for Independence (a point on which we disagree), he does note the postwar impact on the Lowcountry in terms of an increased sense of autonomy among blacks which was manifested in a number of ways. See especially 108–41.

175 19. Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 47–51; J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1957 repr. from 1782 ed.), 155–161; Johann Schöepf,
567 *Travels in the Confederation, 1783–84*, trans. Alfred Morrison (Philadelphia: W. J. Campbell,
1911), 220–221; Phillips, *Appeal to Inhabitants of Charleston*, 29; Avonor Samuel to William
113 Tilghman, December 30, 1785, William Tilghman Papers, HSP; Benjamin Rush Medical
Notes, July 12, 1803, Rush Corr. v. 2: 64, HSP.

20. Major Pierce Butler to Mrs. Izard, February 25, 1797, Butler to John Hoom, January 6, 1803, Butler to John Cooper, February 15, 1818 and March 7, 1818, Wistar Papers, Butler Section, box 31, fol. 7, HSP; Roswell King to Pierce Butler, September 20, 1835, box 33, fol. 5, Pierce Butler to Mr. Taylor, March 28, 1840, Letterbook, 1838–1840, 53–55, and notation of sale of Butler slaves, February 21, 1859, box 41, fol. 5, Wistar Papers, Butler Section, HSP; Frances Ann Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation*, ed. John A. Scott (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1863), 94, 176, 203, 128, 265–66, 273–74.

175 21. Aptheker, *Slave Revolts*, 207–08; Watts, " 'We Do Not Live for Ourselves Only',"
6–8; Letter of John De Brahn, August 28, 1787, Cox-Parrish Wharton Coll., vol. 4, HSP;
113 Pierce Butler letter, July 4, 1789, Wistar Papers, Butler Section, box 31, fol. 1, HSP;
Major Pierce Butler to R. Izard, September 8, 1789, SCL; the full account of the expeditions in Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry," 139.

22. Gerald Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion; Slave Revolts in Eighteenth Century Virginia* (New
(567) York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 140–161; Aptheker, *Slave Revolts*, 217–18, 241; Samuel
G. Stoney, ed., "The Autobiography of William John Grayson" *South Carolina Historical
(669) and Genealogical Magazine* 49, no. 1 (January, 1948): 29–30; Theodore Rosengarten, *Tombee, Portrait of a Cotton Planter, Journal of Thomas B. Chaplin, 1812–1890* (New York: William Morrow 1986), 118; Carroll, *Slave Insurrections*, 66–67; Harding, *There Is a River*, 62–63.

23. Although white Loyalists were never really compensated for their losses in bondspeople during the War for Independence, Americans fared better after the War of 1812. The dispute over losses in slave property raged on after the Treaty of Ghent in 1814. But in 1822, with the Czar of Russia as arbitrator, the dispute was decided in favor of the United States. Britain agreed to pay $1,204,960 for 3,601 slaves, only half of the value claimed by American slave owners. Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 56–57; Quarles, *Negro in the American Revolution*, 171–72; Harding, *There Is a River*, 62–63; Aptheker, *Slave Revolts*, 91; November 17, 1862, John Forsyth Mss., SCL.

24. Letter of Rachel Blanding, July 4, 1816, William Blanding Mss., SCL.

25. Ibid.; Trial of Negroes for Insurrection, July 3–17, 1816, Kershaw County Manscripts, SCL.

26. Quoted in Aptheker, *Slave Revolts*, 258–59; Trial of Negroes, SCL; Blanding Letter, July 25, 1816, SCL.

27. Letter of Rachel Blanding, December 2, 1808, July 25, 1813, SCL.

28. Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 118.

175 29. Ibid., 113–30.

113 30. "Historical Sketch of the Euhaw Baptist Church," submitted for private reading by church officers, 1928, Euhaw Baptist Church Mss., SCL; David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and Other Parts of the World* (New York: Lewis Colby, 1848; repr. from 1813 ed.) 701–3; James W. Busch, "The Beaufort Baptist Church," Beaufort County Historical Society Paper, n.d., 4–5, Beaufort Township Library; John Archibald Armstrong, "Beaufort and the Sea Islands, Their History and Traditions," compiled from newspaper articles in the *Beaufort Republican*, 1867–1873, Beaufort Township Library; Joe Madison King, *A History of South Carolina Baptists* (Columbia: General Board, South Carolina Baptist Convention, 1964), 10–17, 26–38; quoted from James H. Cuthbert, *Life of Richard Fuller*, (New York: Scheldon Co., 1789), 12–13.

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113 31. Lawton Family Papers, SCL: Charlotte Verstille to Nancy Verstille, February 9 and March 2, 1821, Tristram Verstille Papers, SCL: Chalmers D. Davidson, *The Last Foray: The South Carolina Plantations in 1860: A Sociological Study* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1975), 96–99; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 6; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 92–96, 146–47; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 13, 15, 78–79.

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113 32. Brooks, "Silver Bluff Church," 172–82; "Early Negro Churches," 70–71; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 12–13; Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 139. In the Peedee region, the Welsh Neck Church, formed in 1738, was a large congregation whose extensive black membership was organized into a separate church in 1779. This was a short-lived experiment, ending in 1782. At that time, some whites and a "greater number of blacks" were excommunicated by a new minister who discovered that upon examination, the blacks especially "appeared to be very ignorant of the nature of true religion." King, *South Carolina Baptists*, 39–44.

33. Brooks, "Silver Bluff Church," 174–76, 178, 182, 191; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 29–31.

34. Mrs. J. H. Redding, *Life and Times of Jonathan Bryan 1708–1788* (Savannah: Morning News Print, 1901), 43; "Early Negro Churches," 77–79; Brooks, "Silver Bluff Church," 186–87; John Rippon, ed., *Baptist Annual Register for 1798–1801* (London: Dilly, Button, Thomas, 1802), 366–67; Raboteau, *Slave Religion*. Andrew's church spawned two sister churches in Savannah by the early nineteenth century.

35. Brooks, "Silver Bluff Church," 181–190; "Early Negro Churches," 83–87; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 11.

36. Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 10–12, 29–31; Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 4–5; Kathleen Tudor, "David George: Black Loyalist," *Nova Scotia Historical Society* 3, no. 1 (1983): 71–75.

37. Donald Blake Touchstone, "Planters and Slave Religion in the Deep South," (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1973), 9–14; Redding, *Jonathan Bryan*, 44–45.

(797) 38. Quarles, *Negro in the American Revolution*, 135–40, 44–45; Matthew Tate to Benjamin Rush, October 1, 1792, Benjamin Rush Correspondence, vol. 7: 6, HSP.

175 39. Diary of John Bartram, 78–79, John Bartram Papers, HSP.

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113 40. U.S. Census Office, *First Census, 1790* (Philadelphia: Childs and Swaine, 1791), 54; "Diary of Timothy Ford," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 45 (1944): 142–45.

41. Abigail Capers to Eliza Russell, March 25, 1971; James McBride Dabbs Papers, SHC.

(794) 42. John Bartram Diary, July 1, 1765–April 10, 1766, John Bartram Papers, HSP; Johnson, *Social History*, 18–26, 115–118; Armstrong, "Sea Islands History," 30; Euhaw Baptist Church Mss., March 14, 1834, SCL; Charlotte Verstille to Nancy Verstille, March 2, 1821, Tristram Verstille Papers, SCL.

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43. Richard Furman to Roger Williams, September 10, 1800, Richard Furman Papers, SCL.

44. Charlotte Verstille to Nancy Verstille, February 9 and March 2, 1821, Tristram Verstille Papers, SCL.

45. Charles C. Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969; repr. from 1842 ed.), 57, 60–61; Reverend Dr. Richard Furman, *Exposition of the Views of the Baptists, Relative to the Coloured Population in the United States, in A Communication to the Governor of South Carolina* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1823), 15; Rules and Regulations of the Coloured Ministers, Elders and Members of Baptist Church in Charleston, SCL; Edmund Botsford to Richard Furman, March 10, October 12, 1796, October 15, 1808, Edmund Botsford Letters, BC.

46. Arnold Dallimore, *George Whitefield, Life and Times of the Great Evangelist of the Eighteenth Century Revival*, 2 vols. (Gildford and London: Billing and Sons, 1970), II: 438; Rev. A. M. Chreitzberg, *Early Methodism in the Carolinas* (Nashville: Barbee and Smith, 1897), 32–34; Donald Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism, A Chapter in American Morality 1780–1845* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 3–6; Frederick A. Norwood, *The Story of American Methodism: A History of the United Methodists and Their Relations* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1974), 59–60, 75; Albert Deems Betts, *History of South Carolina Methodism* (Columbia: Advocate Press, 1952), 192; F. A. Mood, *Methodism in Charleston* (Nashville: E. Stevenson and J. E. Evans, 1856), 23–24, 40, 48, 71, 128.

47. *Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 3 vols. (New York: N. Bangs and T. Mason, 1821), I: 381–82; Chreitzberg, *Early Methodism*, 39–43; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 7–9.

48. Phillips, *Appeal to Inhabitants of Charleston*, 22–23; Mood, *Methodism in Charleston* 71, 128; Asbury, *Journals*, II: 28–29.

49. Asbury, *Journals*, II: 241.

50. Norwood, *American Methodism*, 88–93; Albert M. Shipp, *History of Methodism in South Carolina* (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1884), 467–71; "Christmas Agreement," January 2, 1795, HSSCC; James Jenkins, *Experience, Labours and Sufferings of Reverend J. Jenkins of the South Carolina Conference*, printed for the author in 1842, copy found at HSSCC; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 10–21; H. Shelton Smith, *In His Image, But . . . Racism in Southern Religion, 1780–1910* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972), 38–43.

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51. William Hammett Journal, entries for August 26, 1794, January 15, 1795, February 8, 1795, and February 15, 1795, Wm. Hammett Ms., SCL.

52. Ibid., January 15, 1795.

53. Smith, *In His Image, But*, 129–35.

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54. Hammett Journal, entries for January 15, 1795, February 8, 1795, February 15, 1795, SCL; Phillips, *Appeal of Inhabitants of Charleston*, 10–11, 15, 17, 21–22, 29.

55. Chreitzberg, *Early Methodism*, 78, 126; James O. Andrew, "On Methodism in Charleston," *MMQR* 12 (1830): 20–28; A. M. Travis, *Autobiography of the Reverend Joseph M. Travis*, (Nashville: E. Stevenson and F. A. Owens), 1855, 86–87; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 21–26.

56. William M. Wightman, *Life of William Capers, Including an Autobiography* (Nashville: J. B. McFerrin, 1858), 136–37; Andrew, "Methodism in Charleston," 18–20; Shipp, *Methodism in South Carolina*, 167; Betts, *South Carolina Methodism*, 55–57.

57. Betts, *South Carolina Methodism*, 223–24; Carol George, *Segregated Sabbaths, Richard Allen and the Emergence of Independent Black Churches, 1760–1840* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 14–18, 29–32; Asbury, *Journals*, III: 22–23, 128.

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58. Article written by Sancho, a former slave, in the Papers of Hugh A. C. Walker, HSSCC.

59. Phillips, *Appeal to Inhabitants of Charleston*, 10, 22–23; Wikramanayake, *World in Shadow*, 122; Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 79, 91; Wightman Ledger and Notebook, 1801, Papers of William May Wightman, HSSCC; Asbury, *Journals*, III: 9, 14; Jenkins, *Experience, Labours and Sufferings*, 102–3, 105–6.

60. Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 22–26; Shipp, *Methodism in South Carolina*, 467.

61. Chreitzberg, *Early Methodism*, 156; Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 61–62; Jenkins, *Experience, Labours and Sufferings*, 96–97; Wikramanayake, *World in Shadow*, 117; Betts, *South Carolina Methodism*, passim; Jones, *Religious Instruction*, 64.

62. George, *Segregated Sabbaths*, 69–86; Betts, *South Carolina Methodism*, 80; Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 14–15; Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 92–93; Wikramanayake, *World in Shadow*, 120–124; Archie Epps, "A Negro Separatist Movement in the Nineteenth Century," *The Harvard Law Review* 4, no. 1 (Summer–Fall, 1966): 70–72.

63. Wikramanayake, *World in Shadow*, 124–26; Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 92–94; Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 2–3.

64. Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 93, 145; Epps, "A Negro Separatist Movement," 71, 75; Wikramanayake, *World in Shadow*, 74, 87–88, 125.

65. The most thorough study is Lofton, *Denmark Vesey;* Also see Wikramanayake, *World in Shadow*, 113–153; Richard Wade, "The Vesey Plot: A Reconsideration," *Journal of Social History* (May, 1964); Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Black Rebellion* (New York: Arno Press, 1969; repr. from 1889 ed.), 215–75; Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War*, 49–86; Starobin, *Denmark Vesey;* Richard Wade has maintained that the conspiracy never really existed. Wade is refuted by Sterling Stuckey in "Remembering Denmark Vesey," *Negro Digest* (February, 1966); and to a lesser extent by Freehling, in *Prelude to Civil War*, 55–61. Yet John Oliver Killens has made objections to Freehling's and Wade's presentations of the conspiracy, describing their interpretations as distorted. Freehling adopts the language of the slaveholders. He portrays Denmark Vesey as "a powerful unscrupulous man who was given to fits of rage and violence," and as a man who employed a "skillful fusion of the high ideals of the Age of Reason with the ruthless savagery of a barbaric chief." Bibliographic note in Kennedy and Parker. (*Trial*, xiv.) Freehling's characterization of Gullah Jack is also taken from the slaveholder's presentation. The author wrote:

> Possessed of tiny limbs, which looked *grotesque* despite his small frame, Gullah Jack had enormous whiskers, which seemed monstrous on the *hulking* Denmark Vesey. No witch doctor ever looked more the part . . . a scorcerer whose bizarre appearance, wild gestures and malevolent glances could terrorize the bravest slave. (55–56).

66. Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 45, 58, 63–65, 114–15; Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 21, 62, 25. The late Professor Starobin's excellent edition of primary sources related to the Vesey Conspiracy was most useful. Testimony not in the official record but part of manuscript collections, contemporary reactions to the plot, and private letters are contained in his volume. Starobin's edition adds to the body of literature on this little-studied rebellion effort and reveals that some sources related to it have yet to be fully utilized. (127)

67. Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 142; Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 25, 50, 61, 64; Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 46, 58–59.

68. Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 66; Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 61, 64; Gayraud S. Gilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism: An Interpretation of the Religious History of Afro-American People*, 2nd ed. rev. and enl. (Maryknoll, N. Y.: Orbis Books, 1983), 57–58.

69. Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 61, 64.

70. Ibid., 43.

175 71. C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins, Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2nd ed. rev. (New York: Vintage, 1963), 83–89, and passim.

•113 72. Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 13–14, 76–79, 89; Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 26, 32, 41–42, 45, 46.

73. Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 117, 121; Michael Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against European Colonial Order* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), passim.

74. See Chapter 2; Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 45; Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 76–77, 163, 17, 37–38, 81, 85–86, 95–102, 105–6, 125.

75. Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 50, 88, 90, 95, 130; John M. Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts* (Cleveland, Ohio: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978), 144; James, *Black Jacobins*, 86–87.

76. Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 39; Killens, *Trial*, 75, 89, 86, 109, 117, 122–23, 125, 134–35, 164–65.

77. Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 79, 81–82, 95–96, 140–41; Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 52.

78. Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 39, 42, 63–64, Killens, *Trial*, 28–38, 42, 74–75, 77, 79, 86, 112–13, 125.

79. Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 31–32.

80. Ibid., 38–40, 79.

81. Ibid., 137.

82. Ibid., 94–95, 131; Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 38, 40.

83. Among them are Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*. Here Wade argues that the urban environment was "inhospitable to conspiracies because it provided a wider latitude to the slave, a measure of independence within bondage. . . ." According to Wade, this environment served to deflate the insurrectionary impulse, 241–42. Also see Gerald Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion*. Vesey did not make the mistake which Mullin claimed was made by Gabriel, that is, not providing an appealing ideology to country slaves and the African-born. We will never know if indeed Gabriel did make this mistake since the record reveals no spiritual presence in the 1800 revolt. This does not however preclude the existence of a spiritual force undetected by the court.

84. Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 38–53, 96–99; Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 64–65, 83.

85. Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 26.

86. Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 19, 23–25, 39, 47, 65; Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 19–22, 50–54, 56, 62, 78, 80–81, 86, 92, 97, 100–5, 109–10, 119, 130–31.

87. Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 18, 20–21, 26–27, 62, 78–79, 85; Diary of John Edwin Fripp, 1857–58 and 1865–68, passim, Beaufort Township Library; Dorothy Sterling, *Captain of the Planter, The Story of Robert Smalls* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1958), 24; Mason Crum, *Gullah, Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), 36–37; Rosengarten, *Tombee*.

88. William Jones to Samuel Jones, July 23, 1822, Jane Bruce Jones Mss., 1784–1834, SCL; Jacob Rapelye to Paul Rapelye, August 5, 1822, Napier, Rapeley and Bennett Papers, SCL; E. M. Starrs to Zalmon Wildman, July 19, 1822, Zalmon Wildman Papers, 1812–1840, SCL; Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 184; James Hamilton, *Negro Plot* (Charleston: Joseph W. Ingraham, 1822), 29.

89. Benjamin Elliott, "To Our Northern Brethren," as quoted by Edwin C. Holland in *A Refutation of the Calumnies Circulated against the Southern and Western States, Respecting the Institutions and Existence of Slavery Among Them* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1822), 79.

90. *Ibid.*, 11–12.

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91. Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 31–32.

92. *Ibid.*

93. Ibid., 132–33; Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 173–75, 182–84.

94. Thomas Bennett to Richard Furman, 1822, Furman Papers, SCL.

95. Richard Furman, *Exposition on the Views of the Baptists*, 15.

96. Fickling, "Slave Conversion," 16–17; Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War*, 60–61, 72–73; Janet Duitsman Cornelius, "God's Schoolmasters: Southern Evangelists to the Slaves, 1830–1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1977), 27, 33–49; Harding, *There Is a River*, 81–94; Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 82, 163–64; Aptheker, *Negro Revolts*, 273, 279; Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 182–85.

97. Cornelius, "God's Schoolmasters," 11–13; Jones, *Religious Instruction*, 64. Cornelius maintains that international events such as Latin American independence movements and West Indian slave revolts were among the factors which hindered religious instruction.

6. *"Religion of the Warm Heart": Plantations Missions and Methodist Impact*

1. Anon., "Letter to the Editor," *Christian Advocate* 4 (January, 1826): 96; Not to be confused with the *Southern Christian Advocate*, a Methodist newspaper.

2. Ibid., 4 (June, 1826): 258–59.

3. See Chapter 5 for references to "Philemon"; *Wesleyan Journal*, July 1, 1826 and July 22, 1826, HSSCC.

4. Luther Porter Jackson, "Religious Instruction of Negroes, 1830–1860," *Journal of Negro History* 15 (1930): 83–84; Donald Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality, 1780–1845* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 68–69, 71–72; William W. Wightman, *Life of William Capers, Including an Autobiography* (Nashville: J. B. McFerrin, 1858), 291–92; Donald Blake Touchstone, "Planters and Slave Religion in the Deep South," (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1973), 46–47; Janet Duitsman Cornelius, "God's Schoolmasters: Southern Evangelists to the Slaves, 1830–1860," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1977), 15, 40–42; Charles C. Pinckney, *An Address Delivered in Charleston Before the Agricultural Society of South Carolina at Its Annual Meeting, 18th August, 1829* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1829), passim and 1–8, 10.

5. Pinckney, *Address*, 11–12.

6. Ibid., 13.

7. Ibid., passim; Charles C. Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969; repr. from 1842 ed.), 101–53; Jackson, "Religious Instruction of Negroes," 73, 78; James O. Andrew, "The Southern Slave Population," *MMQR* 13 (1831) 315–17.

8. Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 68–71; Jones, *Religious Instruction*, 70–71; Susan Markey Fickling, "Slave Conversion in South Carolina, 1830–1860," (M. A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1924), 16, Jackson, "Religious Instruction of Negroes," 81–83; Andrew, "Slave Population," 291–92, 315–17; Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 161–66.

9. Andrew, "Slave Population," 316–19; Wightman, *Life of Capers*, 291–92; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 68–71.

10. L.J.C. Lambert to Methodist Conference, South Carolina, January 10, 1829, HSSCC; "Statistical Report," *MMQR* (1828): 40; Wightman, *Life of Capers*, 288, 292–293; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 68; Touchstone, "Planters and Slave Religion," 45–47. Much of the work of religious instruction in coastal Georgia was done by a Presbyterian, Charles Col-

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cock Jones. But Jones began about ten years after Capers. See Touchstone, "Planters and Slave Religion," 39–45 and Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 155–57. 175 113

11. Andrew, "Slave Population," 314–15.

12. Ibid., 316–19, 322.

13. David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 356–61, 365–66, 452–53, 460–62; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), 350–62. For a different, more sympathetic view of the Methodists, see Sidney G. Diamond, *The Psychology of the Methodist Revival: An Empirical and Descriptive Study* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), passim, especially 18–41, 87–103, 254–73.

14. Andrew, "Slave Population," 321.

15. Letter about the life of George W. Moore, missionary to the slaves in South Carolina, written at the time of his death in 1863 (name of writer of the letter is illegible), HSSCC; Leroy F. Beaty, *Work of South Carolina Methodism among the Slaves: An Address Delivered Before the Historical Society of the South Carolina Conference*, November 26, 1901, HSSCC, 9–10; *CAJ*, March 16, 1932. Wightman, *Life of Capers*, 291–92; Pinckney, *Address*, 23, (Appendix); Andrew, "Slave Population," 314; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 66–69. Both Jackson and Fickling take the position that the South Carolina Conference made the first moves toward religious instruction. They probably got this impression from Jones, *Religious Instruction*. In Georgia, two associations were formed by planters for religious instruction in 1830–31. Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 155.

16. *CAJ*, April 12, 1833, January 22, 1836; "Report of the Missionary Society," *Minutes of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, January 9, 1839, 14–18, HSSCC; Wightman, *Life of Capers*, 288–91, 295–96; Andrew, "Slave Population," 315–16; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 72–73.

17. Courtlandt Van Renssalaer letter, n.d. (between 1835 and 1836), SHC; Frances Anne Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1863), 90–91; Frederick A. Norwood, *The Story of American Methodism: A History of the United Methodists and Their Relations* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1974), 93–96; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, *CAJ*, November 20, 1835, January 22, 1836; Jones, *Religious Instruction*, 86; Wightman, *Life of Capers*, 295–96.

18. Van Renssalaer letter, SHC.

19. "Report of the Missionary Society," *Minutes of South Carolina Conference*, February 10, 1836, 20, HSSCC; Wightman, *Life of Capers*, 295–96; *SCA*, January 26, 1838.

20. Pinckney to Capers, January 24, 1835, HSSCC; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 78–79; *SCA*, January 26, 1838.

21. Jones, *Religious Instruction*, 74–80; Fickling, "Slave Conversion," 16–18; Jackson, "Religious Instruction of Negroes," 86–87. For an excellent treatment on this surge of activity, see Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, Chapter 4.

22. *CAJ*, May 3, 1833, October 22, 1833. 175

23. Pinckney to Capers, January 24, 1835, HSSCC; Virginia C. Holmgren, *Hilton Head: A Sea Island Chronicle* (Hilton Head, S. C.: Hilton Head Publishing, 1959) 61–67; James Kirk to William E. Baynard, Esq., January 12, 1833, HSSCC. 797 113

24. Holmgren, *Hilton Head*, 130–31; William Pope, Sr. to William E. Baynard, Esq., January 8, 1834, HSSCC.

25. *CAJ*, January 31, 1834: James Sealy to William E. Baynard, Esq., January 8, 1834, HSSCC.

26. *CAJ*, January 31, 1834. 175

27. George W. Harley, "Notes on the Poro in Liberia," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of* 797

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American Revolution (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983), 118–20. See also Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 371–74, 386–88.

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39. Towne Diary, 10; Edward Philbrick to Dr. L. B. Russell, June 15, 1863, Edward Atkinson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (New York: Collier Books, 1962, repr. from 1870 ed.), 210–211; *SCA*, August 11, 1843.

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40. Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1769 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974); Johann Schöepf, *Travels in the Confederation, 1783–84*, trans. Alfred Morrison (Philadelphia: W. J. Campbell, 1911), 220–21.

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41. Lucius Gaston Moffatt and Joseph Médard Carrière, "A Frenchman Visits Charleston, 1817," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 49, no. 2 (April, 1948): 141; Johnson, *Social History*, 22–29; Mikell, *Chariot Wheels*, 19–20; R. F. W. Allston, "Sea Coast Crops of the South," *Debow's Review*, XVI (January–June, 1854): 596–98; William Elliot, "On Cultivation of Sea Island Cotton," *Southern Agriculturalist* I (April, 1828): 154; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 70, 72; Crum, *Gullah*, 233–34, U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966, repr. from 1918 ed.), 153–54, 223–25. Philip Morgan takes a different view. He argues that Sea Island cotton cultivation resulted in less arduous slave labor and that the task system augmented black independence and autonomy. See his "Ownership of Property by Slaves in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Low Country," *Journal of Southern History*, no. 3 (August, 1983): 399–405, and "Black Society in the Low Country," 106–7, 120–21.

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42. Mikell, *Chariot Wheels*, 19–20; Allston, "Sea Coast Crops of the South," 596–98; Fripp Diary, passim; J. A. Turner, ed., *The Cotton Planter's Manual* (New York: Negro Universities Press, repr. from 1867 ed.) 135–36; Elliott, "Sea Island Cotton," 154; Thomas Lagare, "Preparation of Sea Island Cotton," *Southern Agriculturalist* II, ser. 2 (December, 1842): 626–27; R. King to P. Butler, October 31, 1824, December 5, 1824, box 33, folder 1, and March 1, 1835, box 33, fol. 5, Wistar Papers, Butler Section, HSP; Whitemarsh B. Seabrook, "A Memoir on the Origin, Cultivation and Uses of Cotton," *Proceedings of the Agricultural Convention and State Agricultural Society of South Carolina* (Charleston: Miller & Browne, 1844), 30; Diary of William F. Allen, 82–83 in William F. Allen Family Papers, 1775–1937, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 71–73.

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43. Fripp Diary, passim; Towne Diary, 10, 20, 24, 32–33; R. King to P. Butler, Oct. 19, 24, and 31, 1824, box 33, fol. 1, Wistar Papers, Butler Section, HSP; Kemble, *Journal* 174–75, 182–83, 189–92, 226–27, 233, 251, 263–64; King, Jr., "Management of Butler Estate," 3–4; Seabrook, "Memoir on Cotton," 30–31; Johnson, *Social History*; Elizabeth Ware Pearson, *Letters From Port Royal* (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, repr., 1969, repr. from 1906 ed.), 13, 31, 114; Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*; The Port Royal Experiment (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), 126–27.

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44. Allen Diary, 136, 91; Towne Diary, 33.

45. Kemble, *Journal*, 120–21, 182–83, 189–205, 214, 226–27, 233, 263.

46. Ibid., 135–36, 79–80.

47. Coffin Point Records Overseer report for 1818, SCHS; Fripp Diary, passim; Crum, *Gullah*, 244–45; Wightman, *Life of Capers*, 291; Pinckney, *Address*, 23–24 (Appendix); Johnson, *Social History*, 28–29, 106; W. E. B. DuBois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969; repr. from 1896 ed.), 180–86; James H. Cuthbert, *Life of Richard Fuller* (New York: Sheldon Co., 1878), 198; Federal Writers Program, Georgia, *Drums and Shadows* (Westport, Conn.:

17 567 •113 Greenwood Press, 1973; repr. of 1940 ed.), xviii–xix. Civil War missionaries reported seeing Africans in the Sea Islands. Towne Diary, 12, reads: "I saw at church from Gabriel Eddings plantation a woman brought from Africa. Her face was tatooed. She seemed of a more vigorous stock"; Harriett Ware, related an account of her meeting a black steward from the *Wabash* in Port Royal. He had just returned from Africa where a slave ship *Ariel* and its slave-pirate were taken. "He gave us a most interesting account of the whole affair, as he went on board with the Captain when he ordered the hatches to be opened and the nine hundred blacks were discovered." Pearson, *Port Royal*, 225.

[199] 48. *SCA*, May 1, 1840; Lorenzo D. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1969; repr. from 1949 ed.), 5, 151; Arthur Sumner to Nina Hartshorn, May 18, 1862, Penn School Papers, v. 4, SHC; David Thorpe to John Mooney, January 25, 1863, Dabbs Papers, Thorpe Series, SHC.

49. Allen Diary, passim and 139.

17 113 797 793 50. *CAJ*, January 31, 1834; Federal Writers Program, *Drums and Shadows*, Chapter 6; ield to Moore, March 21, 1833, HSSCC.

51. *CAJ*, January 31, 1834, November 20, 1835, January 22, 1836.

52. *CAJ*, July 22, 1836.

53. Ibid., June 26, 1835; *SCA*, June 26, 1840, June 26, 1843.

54. *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 48–49.

55. *SCA*, June 26, 1840; *CAJ*, July 17, 1835.

17 113 [797] 56. John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972 ed.), 72; Crum, *Gullah*, 189; Kemble, *Journal*, 58; *CAJ*, February 7, 1834, April 25, 1834, September 25, 1835, July 22, 1836; *SCA*, May 24, 1839, June 30, 1843, September 29, 1843.

57. William Capers, *A Catechism for the Use of the Methodist Missions* (Charleston: J. S. Burges, 1833), passim; *SCA*, January 31, 1851.

58. Andrew, "Slave Population," 317–18; "Report of the Missionary Society," *Minutes of South Carolina Conference*, February 10, 1836, 20, HSSCC; *SCA*, January 26, 1838, June 30, 1843; Charles C. Jones, *Suggestions on the Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the Southern States* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1847), 14; Wightman, *Life of Capers*, 295–96. Quoted in John Spencer Bassett, *The Southern Plantation Overseer, as Revealed in His Letters* (Northhampton, Mass: Smith College, 1925), 14–15.

59. John Bunch to Missionary Society, South Carolina Conference, January 11, 1835, HSSCC; Pinckney to Capers, January 24, 1835, HSSCC; *CAJ*, April 10, 1833, September 9, 1833, January 24, 1835, June 26, 1835, July 22, 1836; *SCA*, December 22, 1843, February 23, 1847; Wightman, *Life of Capers*; 298–99.

60. Bunch to Missionary Society, January 11, 1835, HSSCC; *CAJ*, February 7, 1834, June 13, 1834, October 17, 1834, June 26, 1835; *SCA*, April 8, 1842, January 29, 1847, May 6, 1848, March 28, 1851; Crum, *Gullah*, 218.

[797] 61. *SCA*, July 7, 1843.

62. Ibid.

63. *SCA*, July 14, 1843, September 15, 1843, September 29, 1843, August 13, 1847, May 18, 1849, September 6, 1850, May 25, 1855.

17 797 533 113 64. John McKim to Mrs. Wendell Garrison, April 20, 1864. Antislavery Papers, Rare Book Room, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. The most well-known individual who argues that Gullah music came from Methodist hymns is Guy B. Johnson, *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930), ix–xi, 6–8, 74–84; Albert Deems Betts, *History of South Carolina Methodism* (Columbia: Advocate Press, 1952), 159–68. Betts provides a history of the camp meetings in South Carolina and lists

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the known campgrounds by name, location, and dates of their existence. Crum, *Gullah*, 151. According to Crum, W. A. Massebeau in *Camp Meetings in South Carolina* (1919) records the names of 50 campgrounds. Of these, only one, Black Swamp, is south of Charleston. Black Swamp was in the Beaufort District and is close to Savannah. The area experienced its religious revival in the 1830s; Capers, *Catechism*, 14–16; *SCA*, June 30, 1843, July 14, 1843, December 29, 1843, January 12, 1849; John McKim to Mrs. Wendell Garrison, April 20, 1864, W. Athorp to Mrs. Wendell P. Garrison, April 20, 1867 Antislavery Papers; Allen Diary, 18–19, 127–28, 164; Nicholas George Julius Ballanta, *St. Helena Spirituals* (New York: G. Schirmer Press, 1925), Introduction and Foreword; Higginson, *Army Life*, 187–88; Crum, *Gullah*, 132–34.

175 65. *SCA*, December 29, 1843.

113 66. *CAJ*, August 18, 1837.

[533] 67. Higginson, *Army Life*, 71–72.

[797] 68. *CAJ*, January 31, 1834; *SCA*, June 26, 1840; Archie Epps, "A Negro Separatist Movement in the Nineteenth Century," *The Harvard Law Review* 4, no. 1 (Summer–Fall, 1966): 69–80; *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 48–49; Fripp Diary, 60.

69. *CAJ*, September 7, 1833, November 7, 1834; *SCA*, September 15, 1843, September 6, 1850; Thompson, *English Working Class*, 367–68.

[797] 70. "Report of Missionary Society," *Minutes of South Carolina Conference*, January 13, 1847, 11, HSSCC; *SCA*, June 26, 1840, September 15, 1843, September 29, 1843.

[797] 71. Albert H. Stoddard, "Origin, Dialect, Beliefs and Characteristics of the Negroes of the South Carolina and Georgia Coasts," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 28 (September, 1944): 186–95; Geoffrey Parrinder, *Religion in Africa* (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1969), Chapters 2, 3, 5, and especially 7; Views on the "spirit" versus the "letter" of Christian doctrine are based on Friedrich Hegel, *Early Theological Writings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), Chapter 2, ii, "The Moral Teaching of Jesus, (a) The Sermon on the Mount Contrasted with the Mosaic Law and with Kant's Ethics": iv, "The Religious Teaching of Jesus"; E. J. Hobsbawn, *Primitive Rebels*, 2nd ed. (New York: Praeger, 1963), Intro., especially Chapters 1–3.

72. "Pastoral Address," *Minutes of South Carolina Conference*, December 25, 1844, 14–15, HSSCC; *SCA*, January 29, 1847; Norwood, *American Methodism*, 208–9; Barnes, *Southern Baptist Convention*, 40–41; *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 71–72.

7. To Make Them Better Slaves: Baptist Persuasion, 1830–1861

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1. *Proceedings of the Meeting in Charleston, South Carolina, May 13–15, 1845 on the Religious Instruction of the Negroes* (Charleston: B. Jenkins, 1845), 49; Theodore Rosengarten, *Tombee, Portrait of a Cotton Planter, Journal of Thomas B. Chaplin, 1812–1890* (New York: William Morrow, 1986), 146–47; *CAJ*, June 20, 1834; Harvey H. Jackson, "Hugh Bryan and the Evangelical Movement in South Carolina," *William and Mary Quarterly* 47, 3rd. ser., no. 4 (October, 1986); 594–95; Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 152–57; A. H. Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States* (New York: Christian Literature, 1894), 4–6, 79; David Benedict, *A General History of The Baptist Denomination in America and Other Parts of the World* (New York: Lewis Colby, 1848 repr. from 1813 ed.), 701–3; Joe Madison King, *A History of South Carolina Baptists* (Columbia: General Board, South Carolina Baptist Convention, 1964) 212–14; H. A. Tupper, ed., *Two Centuries of the First Baptist Church in South Carolina, 1663–1833* (Baltimore: R. H. Wooland, 1899), 224–25; Euhaw Baptist Church Mss., March 14, 1834, Lawton Family Papers, SCL; Charlotte Verstille to Nancy Ver-

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113 stille, March 2, 1831, Tristram Verstille Papers, SCL; *Minutes of the Savannah River Baptist Association*, 1802, October 17, 1817, November 27, 1830, BC.

2. James Busch, "The Beaufort Baptist Church," Beaufort County Historical Society
175 Paper, n.d., 13, Beaufort Township Library, Beaufort, South Carolina; *CAJ*, January 6,
797 1832; William M. Baker, *The Life and Labours of the Reverend Daniel Baker, D. D., Pastor & Evangelist* (Philadelphia: William & Alfred Martien, 1859), 145–56; James H. Cuthbert,
113 *Life of Richard Fuller* (New York: Sheldon Co., 1879), 67–68; *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 22, 1831, 24, November 26, 1831, 18, 20, November 23, 1833, 10,
[795] BC; see Appendix C.A Table C.1 lists the churches within the Savannah River Baptist Association in 1833, and indicates the number of baptisms for that year.

3. *Minutes of the Euhaw Baptist Church, 1831–1875*, December 21, 1831, 41, February 18,
175 1832, 12, June 23, 1832, 16, August, 1832, 18, SCL; James W. Busch, "Beaufort Church,"
797 15; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 79–82, 104–5; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 147. Some Episcopalian planters participating in the 1831 revival subsequently became liberal contributors to the
567 Methodist cause of religious instruction of the slaves. *Minutes of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, February 10, 1836, 22, January 9, 1839, 18–19, HSSCC;
113 *CAJ*, January 26, 1838. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 20, 1834, BC.

4. Appendix C,A see tables C.1 and C.2. The fluctuation noticeable in the membership of mainland churches occurred because new churches drew members away from older congregations. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November, 1834, taken from the pages of the *Southern Baptist and General Intelligencer*, January 3, 1835, BC.

5. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 21, 1835, 4, BC; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 16; Charles C. Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes of the United States* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969; repr. from 1842 ed.), 96–98; Chalmers D. Davidson, *The Last Foray: The South Carolina Plantations in 1860: A Sociogical Study* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1975), 96–98.

6. Bynum Shaw, *Divided We Stand: The Baptists in American Life* (Durham: Moore Publishing, 1874), 113–14; Newman, *Baptist Church in the United States*, 304–6; Guion G. Johnson, *A Social History of the Sea Islands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930), 45, 103–4, 117; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 15; *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 24, 1849, BC. William W. Barnes, *The Southern Baptist Convention, 1845–1953* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1954), 19; H. Shelton Smith, *In His Image, But . . . Racism in Southern Religion, 1780–1910* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972), 53–55; Reverend Dr. Richard Furman, *Exposition of the Views of the Baptists, Relative to the Colored Population in the United States, in A Communication to the Governor of South Carolina* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1823), 6.

7. Shaw, *Divided We Stand*, 113–16; Barnes, *Southern Baptist Convention*, 20–21; Smith, *In His Image, But*, 117–21, 127–28; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 227; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, September 12, 1840, 9, BC; *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 21, 1835, 4, November 25, 1837, 5, October 24, 1840, 3, BC.

175 8. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 24, 1838, 6, November 23, 1839,
11, October 23, 1841, 12, November 26, 1842, 4–5.

113 9. Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 153, 227; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 16; *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 21, 1835, 4, BC.

10. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 25, 1841, BC.

11. Jones, *Religious Instruction*, 210–11; John B. Adger, D. D., *My Life and Times, 1810–1899* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1899), 198–99; *Proceedings*

A. [For Appendix C, see Category 795, pp. 337-339--Analyst]

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175 113 *of Charleston Meeting*, 5–6, 14; *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, October 21, 1841, 4, BC.

12. Thomas Bennett to Richard Furman, 1822, Furman Papers, SCL; Charles C. Pinckney, *An Address Delivered in Charleston Before the Agricultural Society of South Carolina, At Its Annual Meeting, 18th August, 1829* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1829), passim; James O. Andrew, "The Southern Slave Population," *MMQR* 13 (1831): 315–17; *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 14–15.

13. "South Carolina through New England Eyes, Almira Coffin's Visit to the Low Country in 1851," John H. Tucker to T. D. Grimke, n.d., early in 1845, SCHS; *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 71–72; "Pastoral Address," *Minutes of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, December 25, 1844, 14–15, HSSCC; *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 25, 1848, 6, November 24, 1849, 7–8, BC; *SCA*, January 29, 1847; John B. Adger, *A Sermon Preached by the Rev. J. B. Adger of the Second Presbyterian Church, Charleston, S. C.*, May 9, 1847 (Charleston: T. W. Haynes, 1847), 12–13, and *Life and Times*, 164–99; Reverend Alexander Glennie, *Sermons Preached on Plantations to Congregations of Negroes* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1844), passim; Charles Colcock Jones, *Suggestions on the Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the Southern States* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1847, 27–33; and *A Catechism of Scripture Doctrine and Practice* (Savannah: T. Purse, 1844), passim; Reverend A. F. Dickson, *Plantation Sermons* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1855), passim; Tupper, *Baptist Church of South Carolina*, 317–18; Donald Blake Touchstone, "Planters and Slave Religion in the Deep South," (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1973), 71–85; Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, Chapter 4; Rev. J. H. Thornwell, *The Rights and Duties of Masters. A Sermon Preached at the Dedication of A Church Erected in Charleston, S. C., For the Benefit and Instruction of the Colored Population* (Charleston: Steam-Power Press, 1850), 48–51.

14. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 25, 1848, 6–7, November 24, November 26, 1853, 10–11, November 25, 1854, 19, November 23, 1855, 12, November 14, 1857, BC; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, April 9, 1841, 15, November 11, 1843, 66, BC; Benedict, *Fifty Years among the Baptists*, 39.

15. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, passim, BC; see Appendix C, tables C.1 and C.2; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, August 7, 1853, 179, BC; Fred Jones, "Report on Church History: A Historical Sketch of the Old Black Swamp Church," Lawton Family Papers, SCL.

16. See Chapters 3 and 4.

175 113 799 17. Busch, "Beaufort Church," 13; Jones, "Old Black Swamp Church"; *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 26, 1831, 18–20, BC; *CAJ*, January 6, 1832; Diary of William P. Hill, 1833–39, SHC (Hill was a Universalist from Maine who went South for health reasons and became a Baptist preacher); Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 67–68; W. H. Dowling, "Black Swamp Church," n.d., SCL; Baker, *Life and Labours*, 144–45, 157, 169–73.

18. Baker, *Life and Labours*, 153; Samuel Gaillard Stoney, ed. "The Autobiography of William John Grayson," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 49, no. 1 (January, 1948): 34–36.

17 113 19. Baker, *Life and Labours*, 153; Stoney, "Autobiography of Grayson," 34–36.

20. *CAJ*, January 6, 1832; Stoney, "*Autobiography of Grayson*," 34–37.

21. Baker, *Life and Labours*, 154–55.

(994) 22. Racial designations were not yet indicated nor names of slaves included on membership rolls. But the slaves' acceptance into the church was recorded in the Minutes. *Minutes*,

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17 113 (794) *Beaufort Baptist Church*, Membership Rolls, and see Appendix C, tables C.1 and C.2; *Minutes, Euhaw Baptist Church*, 11–12, 14, 16, 18–19, 32, 55–56, 58, 66–68, 70; Jones, "Old Black Swamp Church."

175 797 113 23. Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 79–82; Stoney, "Autobiography of Grayson," 36; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, passim, BC; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 13–17. Within this same article is a section entitled "Richard Fuller and Slavery," 11; and see Appendix C, tables C.1 and C.2.

24. Johnson, *Social History*, 103; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 15–20, 67–79; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 14–16.

25. *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, passim, BC; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 81–106; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 14–16.

26. "Former Slaves Recollect Fuller," in Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 106–113; Charlotte Forten, "Life on the Sea Islands," Part I, *Atlantic Monthly* 13 (May, 1864): 589–90.

(795) 27. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 26, 1853, 10–11; November 25, 1854, 16; November 14, 1857, 10–11, BC; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, July 12, 1857, 2–3, 35; November 7, 1857, 241–43, BC.

(127) 28. This is an estimate and represents population based on the 1830 census returns. U.S. Census Office, *Sixth Census, 1840* (Washington: T. Allen, 1841), 95; see Appendix C. tables C.1 and C.3.

(795) 29. See Appendix C, table C.2; U.S. Census, *Sixth Census*, 95–96, 226–27; *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 22, 1845, 16, BC; *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 48–50; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, 273, BC.

30. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 25, 1848, 5, November 1859, BC; see Appendix C, table C.3.

175 113 31. Baker, *Life of Labours*, 155–56; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 13; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 15–16, 64–65, 67–75; John Stapleton Papers, SCL, have information on the Rhetts, who bought Frogmore Plantation, St. Helena, from Stapleton in 1836; Jones, "Old Black Swamp Church"; Charlotte Verstille to Nancy Verstille, March 2, 1821, Tristram Verstille Papers, SCL; Diary of John Edwin Fripp, Beaufort Township Library; For Princeton preference see "Notes and Documents; Antebellum and War Memories of Mrs. Telfair Hodgson," Sarah Hodgson Torian, ed., *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (December, 1953): 352; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 88–91; Johnson, *Social History*, 103–11; Hill Diary, SHC; Baptist Church at Black Swamp Mss., Lawton Family Papers, SCL; George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, 19 vols., *South Carolina Narratives*, vols. 2 and 3 in 4 Parts (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing), II (1) 155–58, 161–62; Jenkins Mikell, *Rumblings of the Chariot Wheels* (Columbia: The State Co., 1923), 201; Johnson, *Social History*, 114–15; Henry Noble Sherwood, ed., Introduction, "Journal of Miss Susan Walker, March 3d to June 6, 1862," *Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* 7 (January–March, 1912): 5.

32. Mikell, *Chariot Wheels*, 201–2; Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, Supp. I (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1871), 197–202; William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 353–56; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 140–43, 203–11; Mason Crum, *Gullah, Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), 35–54.

33. Edward L. Pierce, "The Freedmen at Port Royal," *Atlantic Monthly*, 12 (September, 1863): 295.

34. Janet Duitsman Cornelius, "God's Schoolmaster: Southern Evangelists to the Slaves, 1830–1860," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), 16–22; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 140–58.

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35. Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, *140–58*; Smith, *In His Image, But*, 133–36, 138–39; King, South Carolina Baptists, 211–12.

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36. David Donald, ed., *Inside Lincoln's Cabinet* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1954), 69–70.

37. William Howard Russell, *My Diary North and South*, Fletcher Pratt, ed. (New York: Harper Brothers, 1854), 76–77; Busch, "Beaufort Church," sections entitled "Work among the Negroes," 3 and "Richard Fuller and Slavery," 1; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, October 9, 1840, 11, October 8, 1841, 23, October 8, 1842, 39, BC; *Minutes, Euhaw Baptist Church*, October 9, 1836, 59; September 24, 1838, 66, SCL; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 104–6; C. C. Pinckney to William Capers, January 24, 1835, HSSCC; *SCA*, September 29, 1843; Rawick, *American Slave, South Carolina* II (2) 72–73, 184–85, 279, III (3) 202, 274.

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38. *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 49.

39. *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, "Origin of the Colored Societies," October 7, 1859, Business Meeting in which the organization of the societies is discussed, 271–74, January 7, 1842 and November 11, 1840, 12, BC; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 83–104; *CAJ*, January 31, 1834; Field to Moore, March 21, 1833, HSSCC.

40. See Chapter 6.

41. *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, 12, BC.

42. Ibid., 271–72.

43. Ibid., 271–74; Rawick, *American Slave, South Carolina*, II: (2) 185.

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44. *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 48–49; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, April 9, 1847, 111, passim, BC; Rawick, *American Slave, South Carolina*, II (2) 184–85; Rev. Mansfield French to Revs. Whipple and Jocelyn in Elizabeth Ware Pearson, *Letters from Port Royal* (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1969; repr. from 1906 ed.), 20. The spelling generally is *Praise* House. Black and white Northerners living among the Gullahs during the Civil War spelled the word thusly. But Samuel Lawton did research in the Sea Islands in the 1920s and indicates the word was "Prays," named for its function as a place of prayer. According to Lawton, Gullah pronunciation of the flat "a" and dropping of the final syllable on many words explain why no difference was noted between "prays" and "praise." Lawton interviewed former Sea Island slaves in the 1920s who referred to the plantation meetinghouse as "Pray House" without the "s" sound, or they pronounced two syllables very distinctly, "pray-ers house." Informants stated it was "Way ooner go fur pray." Gullahs changed verbs into nouns without adding the extra ending. Thus, at the meetinghouse, "One pray. Den Anudder lead a pray'—Dat make two prays." Lawton's argument is reinforced by Patricia Guthrie's more recent fieldwork in the 1970s. According to Guthrie, "Praise houses are also known locally and in the literature as prayer and pray houses." The Gullahs' mastering of double meaning however may also inform the discussion. They often asked white Northerners to "jine praise wid we." Also their anthem, "New Jerasulem," stated, "Sing God praise both night and day." Thus the Gullahs went to the meetinghouse to *praise* and *pray*. Samuel Lawton, "The Religious Life of Coastal and Sea Island Negroes," (Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1939), 54–56; Patricia Guthrie, "Praise House Worship and Litigation Among Afro-Americans on a South Carolina Sea Island," Paper, Sixth Annual Martin Luther King Lecture Series, Purdue University, February 21, 1980, 1.

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45. Rawick *American Slave, South Carolina* II (2) 279–80, III (3) 200–202; Diary of John Edwin Fripp, 1857–58 and 1865–68, 24, Beaufort Township Library; Russell, *My Diary North and South*, 71–77; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 15–20; Minutes, *Beaufort Baptist Church*, April 9, 1841, 15, May 14, 1842, 34; BC. August 12, 1843, 61–62; October 1, 1853, 180,

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175 BC. A good example of how little attention some masters paid to slaves is provided in the
T. B. Chaplin Journal, edited by Theodore Rosengarten. Chaplin probably spent more
● 113 time supervising his property than most Sea Island planters. However Rosengarten writes:
"Because Chaplin had very little to do with his slaves outside of work, we seldom see them
567 in their quarters and only then when peace is disturbed." T. B. Chaplin was on the Episcopalian side of the family and "appears to have invested nothing in the spiritual welfare of his slaves." Some of his slaves did join the Island Baptist church through the "praise house." Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 145, 147, 151.

46. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 25, 1854, November 23, 1855,
(795) BC; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, June 10, 1843, 61–62, September 4, 1852, 171, September 12, 1854, 197, November 7, 1857, 241–42, BC; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 147; Pierce
(794) Butler to A. Marvin, March 19, 1839, Letterbook, 1838–1840, box 38, Wistar Papers, Butler Section, HSP.

175 47. James Leo Garrett, Jr., *Baptist Church Discipline: An Historical Introduction to the Practices of Baptist Churches, with Particular Attention to the Summary of Church Discipline Adopted
113 in 1773 by the Charleston Association* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1962), 3–4, 10–18, 28; King, *South Carolina Baptists*, 62–63. The Baptist religion as it developed in the Lowcountry from Georgetown southward to the Beaufort District was considerably different from that planted in the upcountry. The latter was closer to the frontier Baptist tradition. Unlike "Regular" Baptists of the Lowcountry, the "frontier theology" was a compromise of Arminian and Calvinist views. King, *South Carolina Baptists*, 38, 148; Sidney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972), 440–43.

48. Garrett, *Baptist Church Discipline*, 39–44; J. William Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry in a Slave Society* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1985), 100–04; Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 180–81; King, *South Carolina Baptists*, 38, 149–55; Daniel W. Hollis, "The Role of the Church in South Carolina History," *Journal of the South Carolina Baptist Historical Society* 4 (November, 1978): 11–13; Smith, *In His Image, But*, Chapter 2.

175 49. *Minutes, Euhaw Baptist Church*, passim, SCL; *Minutes, Baptist Church at Black Creek*,
1828–1922, 15–59, SCL; Jones, "Old Black Swamp Church"; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*,
113 October 9, 1840, 10–11, BC; For information about discipline of slaves in other churches,
795 see Cornelius, "God's Schoolmasters," 228–40; Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry*, 48–52.

794 50. *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, August 12, 1843, 61–62.

51. Ibid., November 11, 1840, 12, April 5, 1852, 166, October 7, 1859, 272–73.

52. Ibid., October 8, 1840, 11, July 9, 1841, 19, July 8, 1842, 34; September 8, 1843, 63; April 5, 1855, 203–4.

53. Rawick, *American Slave, South Carolina*, II (2) 184; Allen Diary, 23, 57.

54. *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, November 9, 1844, 83, April 5, 1852, 166, October 7, 1859, 272–73, BC; *Minutes, Euhaw Baptist Church*, February 5, 1832, 11, September 1848, 75, SCL.

175 55. Fripp Diary, 60, Beaufort Township Library; Johnson, *Social History*: 47, 54; Rawick, *American Slave, South Carolina*, III (3) 200–201, 272; Diary of William F. Allen, 62, in
113 William F. Allen Family Papers, 1775–1937, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

685 56. John W. Blassingame, ed., *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Inter-
(795) views and Autobiographies* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 374, 381; Forten, "Sea Islands," Part I, 668; Diary of Laura M. Towne, 15, Penn School Papers,
(794) SHC.

175 74. Forten, "Sea Islands," Part I, 594; Botume, *Amongst the Contrabands*, 157–58.

•113 75. *CAJ*, August 18, 1837; *SCA*, July 7, 1843, August 21, 1840, February 3, 1841,
September 29, 1843.

76. As far as total immersion was concerned, Methodist missionaries were willing to
[795] baptize slaves in this manner if the slaves so desired. *CAJ*, February 7, 1834; John L. Field
[797] to George W. Moore, March 21, 1833 HSSCC; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, passim,
BC; Rawick, *American Slave, South Carolina*, II (2) 184–85; III (3) 202.

[793] 77. Towne Diary, 26, 54; Pearson, *Letters from Port Royal*, 26–28; *CAJ*, January 31,
1834, November 20, 1835, July 22, 1836; *SCA*, May 1, 1840, April 8, 1842, June 26, 1843,
[797] July 28, 1843.

78. *SCA*, February 16, 1844, October 30, 1846.

17 79. *SCA*, July 28, 1843; *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 29–50; Russell, *My Diary*, 77;
113 James R. Stuart Recollections, n.d. (around 1850), SHC; *SCA*, March 30, 1849, May 12,
1849, September 6, 1850, July 5, 1855.

80. *SCA*, May 18, 1849; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 145–47; Fripp Diary, 9, 18, 40, 47, Towne Diary, 22.

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8. *Elements of the Head and the Heart: Gullah Interpretations of Christianity*

1. "The Long Look," 2–3, undated sketch of a former slave, Sam Polite, who lived to
175 be over 100 years old, Penn School Papers, vol. 1, SHC. For discussions on the Union
victory at Port Royal see Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), 3–12; Theodore Rosengarten, *Tombee: Portrait of a Cotton Planter, Journal of Thomas B. Chaplin, 1812–1890* (New York: William Morrow, 1986), 202–22.

2. Randall Hunt, "Journal of a Traveller from Charleston, S. C. to New Haven, Conn.,
175 1832," SCHS; "South Carolina through New England Eyes, Elmira Coffin's Visit to the
113 Low Country in 1851," SCHS; William Howard Russell, *My Diary North and South*, ed.
Fletcher Pratt (New York: Harper Brothers, 1854), Charles Joyner, *Down By the Riverside:
797 A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984),
154–59, 161–63, 229–30; "All Saints, Waccamaw, the Parish, the Place, the People, 1739–1948," Beaufort Township Library, South Carolina, Society of Colonial Dames of America, 22–24, 30–33, 38–43. Joyner's book is a reconstruction of black life in All Saints Parish.

3. W. T. Richardson to Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, June 19, 1863, Lydia Fuller to Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, July 5, 1864, AMA; Diary of William F. Allen in William F. Allen Family Papers, 1775–1937, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 144; Elizabeth Hyde Botume, *First Days Amongst the Contrabands* (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1968; repr. from 1893 ed.), 91–92, 112–14.

4. Edward L. Pierce, "The Freedom at Port Royal," *Atlantic Monthly*, 12 (September, 1863): 304; Laura M. Towne to James McKim, February 1, 1862, Antislavery Papers, Rare Book Room, Cornell University; Allen Diary, 96, 127–28, 151–52.

175 5. Mary Ames, *From a New England Woman's Diary in Dixie* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969; repr. from 1906 ed.), 68; Botume, *Amongst the Contrabands*, 74–75.

113 6. Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought
779 from Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 43; Albert J. Raboteau,
Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South (New York: Oxford Univer-
795 sity Press, 1978), 320–21; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (New York: Collier Books, 1962, repr. from 1870 ed.), 49; Joyner, *Down by the Riverside*,

164–66; Edwin S. Williams to Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, January 28, 1863, AMA. For an interesting discussion of the fusion of Old and New Testament figures, see Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 252–55. 175 113 (779)

7 George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, 19 vols., *South Carolina Narratives*, vols. 2 & 3, in 4 parts (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing, 1972), II (2) 180–81. (795)

8. Charlotte Forten, "Life on the Sea Islands," Part II, *Atlantic Monthly* 13 (June, 1864): 672.

9. Mansfield French to Revs. Whipple and Jocelyn, n.d., AMA; Ira Berlin, ed., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867, Series II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 49–50; Allen Diary, 57–58; Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, 145–48; Diary of Laura M. Towne, 26, Penn School Papers, SHC. It is interesting to note that "Old Marcus' " "Massa" was Daniel Pope of the Oaks Plantation. Pope was an important individual in St. Helena's Baptist Church. The Oaks was one of the plantations where Northerners saw so many signs of "Ill-treatment," and was referred to as "de cruelest place." Towne Diary, 32–33. 175 113 771

10. Arthur Sumner to Lt. Joseph Clark, January 23, 1863, Penn School Papers, vol. 4 SHC: Botume, *Amongst the Contrabands*, 218; Higginson, *Army Life*, 231–39.

11. Paul Radin, "Status, Phantasy, and the Christian Dogma," in Clifton Johnson, ed., *God Struck Me Dead: Religious Conversion Experiences and Autobiographies of Negro Ex-Slaves* (Nashville: Social Science Institute, Fisk University, 1945), Foreword, i–ix. 113 771

12. There is much that is interesting and convincing in Radin's analysis of slave religion. But he does not take into account fully, the effects of slave religion on social cohesion in the quarters. Radin ignores the cultural and communal components of slave religion—its most progressive elements. He apparently view's slave religion in mainly Christian terms, referring to the slaves' "sin" and desire for cleanliness and rebirth. The self-doubt and vacillation which he maintains the Christian conversion experience dispelled represents an analysis of the role of Christianity only on one level. It does not take full cognizance of other influences on the development of black religion. Perhaps Radin attributes too much to Christianity, and views the slaves' perception of Christianity too simply. The Gullahs' conception of sin differed from that which the masters attempted to instill. The slaves looked beyond the concept of a personal God, an "other world," a "rebirth," and beyond an attitude toward sin that worked against their interests. We agree with Radin that religion helped the slaves escape "demoralization" and "neurosis." Radin credits this "escape" from the degrading features of enslavement to Christianity. But communal and cultural development also provided that extra layer of faith. His interpretation of the psychological features and effects of the conversion experience would be even more insightful if a broader approach to slave religion were taken. Ibid. 771 567

13. John W. Blassingame, ed., *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews and Autobiographies* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 377; Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, 132; Dorothy Sterling, *Captain of the Planter: The Story of Robert Smalls*, (New York: Doubleday, 1958) 32–33; Ames, *Dixie Diary*, 45; Towne Diary, passim. Northern teachers related that the Gullahs sometimes found ways to gain some literacy during slavery. Two house servants "picked it up from their master's children," letter by letter. Several other people learned from hymn books. Some were never taught but picked up letters "here and there," which enabled them to read "easy sentences." Allen Diary, 62. 113 175 (212)

14. Berlin, *Freedom: Black Military Experience*, 46–54; Allen Diary, 155; Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 68–70, 75–76, 93–97; Higginson, *Army Life*, 39–40. (701)

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• 113 15. Berlin, *Freedom: Black Military Experience*, 54–55; Higginson, *Army Life*, 63, 72, 86–105, 149–50; H. G. Spaulding, "Under the Palmetto," *Continental Monthly* 4 (August, 1963): 202–3; Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long*, 64, 87–93.

(701) 16. Higginson, *Army Life*, 46–48, 70–71, 240–41; Spaulding, "Under the Palmetto," 196.

[722) 17. Allen Diary, 82–83; Pearson, *Port Royal*, 99, n. 1, 102, 114, 181–82; Charles Nordhoff, "The Freedmen of South Carolina," in Frank Moore, ed., *Papers of the Day* (New York: C. T. Evans, 1863), 4–5; Towne Diary, 14, 21; Botume, *Amongst the Contrabands*, 143–56.

[533) 18. Forten, "Sea Islands, Part I, 588.

19. Rupert Holland, ed. *Letters and Diary of Laura M. Towne* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969; Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1912), 26.

20. Higginson, *Army Life*, 192; Tilden G. Edelstein, *Strange Enthusiasm: A Life of Thomas Wentworth Higginson* (New York: Atheneum, 1970; repr. from 1968 ed.) 257–60.

21. Botume, *Amongst the Contrabands*, 204; Forten, "Sea Islands," Part II, 672; Allen Diary, 164.

22. Botume, *Amongst the Contrabands*, 204.

23. Higginson, *Army Life*, 208.

24. Edelstein, *Strange Enthusiasm*, 257–60 For an enlightening and provoking treatment of "romantic racialism" see George M. Frederickson, *Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), Chapter 4; William Francis Allen, Charles P. Ware, and Lucy M. Garrison, *Slave Songs of the United States* (New York: Peter Smith, 1951; repr. from 1867 ed.), 48; Higginson, *Army Life*, 208–9.

25. Rev. Mansfied French to Revs, Whipple and Jocelyn, n. d., AMA.

26. Higginson, *Army Life*, 235.

27. Ibid., 71, 236–38, and his Appendix D, 267–76.

28. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long*, 457.

9. *Folk Religion in the Slave Quarters*

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[346) 1. Mrs. William R. Wister, "Recollections of a Southern Plantation and School," Penn School Papers, vol. 5, 19, SHC; Rosa B. Cooley, *School Acres*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), 148–49; Diary of Laura M. Towne, 52, Penn School Papers, SHC; "The Long Look," 2–3, undated sketch of a former slave, Sam Polite, who lived to be over 100 years old, Penn School Papers, vol. 1, SHC.

[795) 2. *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, November 11, 1840 and January 7, 1842, 12; October 7, 1859, 271–74, BC; James H. Cuthbert, *Life of Richard Fuller* (New York: Sheldon Co., 1879), 104–5.

[368)
[533) 3. Cooley, *School Acres*, 148–49; Towne Diary, 52, Samuel Lawton, "The Religious Life of Coastal and Sea Island Negroes," (Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1939), 61, 69–72; William F. Allen et al., *Slave Songs of the Untied States* (New York: Peter Smith, 1951; repr. from 1867 ed.) xviii.

4. Thomas J. Woofter, *Black Yeomanry* (New York: Henry Hold, 1930), 243–54; Towne Diary 26, 42; Charlotte Forten, "Life on the Sea Islands," Part II, *Atlantic Monthly* 13 (June, 1864): 672; Edward L. Pierce, "The Negroes at Port Royal, S. C.," Doc. 51 in *Rebellion Record*, ed. Frank Moore, Suppl. 1 (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1871) 305; Lawton, "Religious Life," 54–57, 60–62; Patricia Guthrie, "Catching Sense: The Meaning

of Plantation Membership on St. Helena Island, South Carolina," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1977). 17 113

5. *SCA*, July 28, 1843; Rupert Holland, ed. *Letters and Diary of Laura M. Towne* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969; repr. from 1912 ed.) 162; Rev. Augustine Roots to Rev. Jocelyn, February 8, 1863, AMA; Woofter, *Black Yeomanry*, 243–54; Jenkins Mikell, *Rumblings of the Chariot Wheels* (Columbia: The State Co., 1923), 138; Lawton, "Religious Life," 62–63, 69–72; Guthrie, "Catching Sense," Chapters 4 and 5. 113 626 794

6. Towne Diary, passim; Guthrie, "Catching Sense," 95–97, 117–18; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Folk-lore of the Sea Islands of South Carolina* (Cambridge, Mass: American Folk-lore Society, 1923), 205–6; Lawton, "Religious Life," 61–23, 69–70. 113 175

7. Lawton, "Religious Life," 61–63; Guthrie, "Catching Sense," 95–118. The Praise House membership consisted of households. These units were not always filial and might consist of several "outside children." Yet if these children "caught sense" in that household, they were members of that plantation. They were also members of the Praise House, could be buried in the plantation graveyard, and after slavery, could use the land. Plantation members tried to keep nonmembers off the land. Guthrie, "Catching Sense," 116–22. (794) (592)

8. Pierce, "Negroes at Port Royal," 305; Towne Diary, 55; Frances Anne Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1863), 167–68; Rev. W. T. Richardson to Rev. Jocelyn, August 7, 1863, AMA; Arthur Sumner to Nina Hartshorn, May 18, 1862, Penn School Papers, vol. 4, SHC.

9. Diary of William F. Allen, William F. Allen Family Papers, 1775–1937, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 106–7, 145, 164; Elizabeth Hyde Botume, *First Days Amongst the Contrabands* (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1968, repr. from 1893 ed.), 125–26; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (New York: Collier Books, 1962, repr. from 1870 ed.), 48; Elizabeth Ware Pearson, *Letters from Port Royal* (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1969, repr. from 1906 ed.), 198; Charlotte Forten "Life on the Sea Islands," Part I, *Atlantic Monthly* 13 (May, 1864): 592. [576]

10. Guthrie, "Catching Sense," 55–57, 119–23; Grace Bigelow House, "The Little Foe of All the World," *Southern Workman* 35 (1906): 603; Wister, "Recollections," 14; Allen Diary, 45; Towne Diary, 13. [431)

11. Ruth Finnegan, *Survey of the Limba People of Northern Sierra Leone* (London: HMS, 1965), 69–80; Robert T. Parsons, *Religion in an African Society*, 99–100; Folkways Research Series, *The Traditional History and Folklore of the Gola Tribe in Liberia*, 2 vols. (Monrovia: Dept. of the Interior, 1961) II: 55–56; Thomas Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighborhood of Sierra Leone*, 2 vols. (London: Frank Cass, 1969; repr. from 1803 ed.) I: 211; Wyatt MacGaffey, *Custom and Government in the Lower Congo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 103.

12. Mikell, *Chariot Wheels*, 139–41.

13. W. T. Harris and Harry Sawyerr, *The Springs of Mende Belief and Conduct: A Discussion of the Influence of the Belief in the Supernatural among the Mende* (Freetown: Sierra Leone University Press) 103; W. C. Willoughby, *The Soul of the Bantu: A Sympathetic Study of the Magico-Religious Practices and Beliefs of the Bantu Tribes of Africa* (Newport, Conn.: Negro Universities Press, 1970, originally published 1928), 393.

14. *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, 271–72, BC; James R. Stuart Recollections, n.d., circa 1850, 2–4, SHC; *SCA*, June 26, 1843; Holland, *Towne Letters and Diary*, 162, 145; Cooley, *School Acres*, 148–49; Charles A. Raymond "The Religious Life of the Negro Slave," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 27 (September, 1863): Part I, 479.

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202, 210–12; Gibbs, "The Kpelle," 221–22; Watkins, " 'Bush' School," 666–68, 670–72. 113
The fact that initiation into society was not peculiar to Windward Coast and Gambia
groups has been mentioned in Chapter 2. Yet its existence elsewhere could reinforce the 000
Poro and Sande influence since no initiation process was as pervasive and germane to
sacred and secret life as these associations and their equivalents under different names. In
other African-American societies, such as Jamaica, there is evidence of Poro power in
socialization and group authority. This is reflected through the Jonkonnu masquerade tradition. Masks were central to some African Poro and Sande means of expression, leadership concealment, and instilling obedience through intimidation. The masquerade and other
apparent manifestations of Poro power have been discussed by researchers of Jamaican
history and culture. The mask-wearing conveys "supernatural authority" in the Jamaican
Jonkonnu, but appears in a "secular/entertainment context." Mask-wearing has no part in
Gullah culture but this may be the result of Gullah incorporation of secret society elements
into Christianity. In Jamaica, where little Christian instruction of slaves was conducted,
the masquerade and festive aspects of the association could continue, whereas there was no
base upon which the religious element could remain. Also, covering the face with ash, as
done by Gullahs, may be a substitute for the mask and for clay, since both are used in
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Appendix D: The Deity

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128 THIS BOOK IS BASED on tape-recorded material. In putting it together we tried to use the strongest photograph to illustrate each text; the person in an accompanying photograph is not necessarily the person speaking. Please see the list of photograph credits at the back of the book for specific information.

(197) (113) We have deliberately refrained from caricaturing the pronunciation of Gullah dialect by distorted spellings. There are a number of scholarly studies of Gullah now available in addition to Lorenzo Turner's classic 1949 book *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*.

533 128 The songs are sung without instrumental accompaniment. In most of the religious songs, complex hand and foot rhythms are added as the spirit mounts. This particular style is called "shouting." Songs are usually sung with an informal leader in a call and response pattern. The transcriptions are inevitable simplifications of what is sung, for to capture the subtle shadings and minute variations of pitch and rhythm would result in an almost unreadable score. Because the style is highly improvisational, the melody, the words, and the order of the verses vary with every performance and from one singer to another.

533 216 We strongly urge the reader to listen to these songs on two Folkways records of Johns Island music that are available: *Been in the Storm So Long: Spirituals and Shouts and Children's Games* and *Moving Star Hall Singers and Alan Lomax: Sea Island Folk Festival*. A new compilation of the best of these recordings is available on Folkways album 40031, *Been in the Storm So Long: Spirituals and Shouts, Folktales and Children's Songs*. An interesting comparison of the particular style in the Johns Island area with that of coastal singers further south can be made by listening to the albums of songs from the Georgia sea islands and from nearby McIntosh County.

(p. xvi-B)

159 871 641 666 185 That appealed to Esau, and he agreed to help her. He had a portion of the South Carolina laws typed up, those that pertained to registration and voting, and he passed them out to the people who rode his bus. To those who couldn't read or couldn't understand the language of the law, he patiently explained the requirements. When he was waiting for his passengers to assemble or when his bus arrived in town a few minutes early, he would discuss those laws with them.

871 641 666 153 The woman who asked Esau for help was Mrs. Alice Wine. She had a marvelous ability to memorize; she memorized the whole section of the constitution that they were studying. Soon she was ready to go and be registered.

While she was standing in line awaiting her turn, one of the women ahead of her, in reading a section of the constitution, mispronounced the word "miscegenation." Immediately Mrs. Wine pronounced it correctly. The registrar spoke out sharply, "No coaching, please!" When it came her time, Mrs. Wine "read" every word perfectly by reciting from memory. She was given her registration certificate, and she was one happy soul.

871 641 666 185 But Mrs. Wine wasn't satisfied. She really wanted to know how to read. She asked Esau if there was any kind of school where she could learn to read and write.

After I came back from going to Highlander the first time, I decided that I should get Esau to go. We went up there and found out that many people could talk to him and give him help.

Myles Horton had been into Charleston to try to get people to come up to Highlander. Now, through Esau, he had a way to reach people. One Christmas Myles went down there with his children and spent the whole Christmas season just walking around the island and talking. He stayed in Esau's house, and the people really enjoyed him. Myles had a way of speaking to people that made them become endeared to him.

Myles always told people about the injustices that were there, that they had not seen. He said, "Now, you know, any day I can go back with my own people and not have to endure these things, but you have to live with them always. I want you to see if you can get to the place where you can register and vote. You need to think about what you can do for these children that are coming along."

● (113) Septima's words are from her autobiographical book *Ready from Within: Septima Clark and the Civil Rights Movement*, written with Cynthia Stokes Brown and published in 1986 by Wild Trees Press, Box 378, Navarro, Calif. 95463.

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IN THE 1966 edition of this book we gave a short list of books and albums for additional information on the sea islands. By now there are so many valuable writings, albums, films, tapes that it would be difficult to give a comprehensive list. We recommend the following sources and make note that many of the books listed have a much more complete bibliography.

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Step It Down: Games for Children by Bessie Jones, RR 8004.

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Yonder Come Day. Capital City Film Studios, 1976. Film of Bessie Jones and the community at St. Simons, Georgia.

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175 Of equal importance, if that be possible, with the native
567 quality of the Gullah vernacular, was the environment
under which they lived in this country. They seem to
have been imported almost exclusively to the sea-islands
and coast of two states, South Carolina and Georgia. This
section, from Colonial days to the Civil War, was the richest
and most cultured of that part of the South. Rice, the
[243] chief low-country crop of that day, was extremely lucrative
under slave-labor, as was the silky, long-staple sea-island
[248] cotton. Large plantations of thousands of acres
were the rule, on which the wealthy planters lived in characteristic,
often feudal prosperity.[4]

000 Even today, two generations after the disintegration of the social forces that brought them into existence, there remain impressive traces of these fine old estates, some abandoned and fallen into ruins, a few still kept up, some turned into hunting preserves, some still being farmed on a smaller scale. They stretch in an irregular chain along the coast, inlets, and tidal rivers, each with the gray-weathered dwelling-house in its moss-draped grove of live-oaks; the big barns and slave-quarters off to one side, consisting of a double row of one-story cabins, now in ruins, lining the "street"; square mile after square mile of woodland, marshland, and level fields, once planted to rice, but

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[174] as it was called then, but to this day (1898) the older ones of that set of negroes, who
grew up before the war, speak as pure Gullah as their grandfathers and grandmothers
spoke on Ashepoo. They seem to have been scarcely affected in their low-country
[197] Gullah speech by the white people that were numerous and all around them
and the negroes native to that neighborhood, who talked so differently to themselves."

[4] If this seems to savor of the high-flown idyllic plantation tradition, fostered by professional Southerners, romantic literature, melodrama, and minstrel balladry, be it recalled that the ideal picture came closest to being realized in tide-water Virginia and in the rice districts of South Carolina. In regard to these localities it would be hard to overstate the facts. "Charles Dudley Warner, for example, dazzled by the sheen of life in the Carolina rice districts exclaimed, 'Nowhere in this leveling age . . . so much splendor'." F. P. Gaines, *The Southern Plantation*, Columbia University Press, 1924, p. 64. "Phillips says of the rice section: 'The towns were in sentiment and interest virtually a part of the plantation community and many prospering townsmen looked toward plantation retirement, carrying, as it did, in some degree, the badge of gentility, as the crown of their careers.'" *Ibid.*, 145, 146.

Crevecoeur (*Letters from an American Farmer*, London, 1782.) called the life
[113] around Charleston 'the gayest in America'; "Olmstead himself (*Seaboard Slave States, A Journey Through the Seaboard Slave States*, New York, 1856) refers to the rice planters as 'having less vulgar display and more intrinsic elegance than in any distinct class among us'." *Ibid.*, p. 154.

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175 fields, the lonely rice marshes, the windy pine-woods, the dying rice-fields, on the little truck-farms and cotton patches of the lowlands, they remained eking out an existence as best they could, almost as untouched by civilization as if they had still been dwelling in the forests of equatorial Africa.

181 Thus with the passing years, owing both to origin and environment, they have come to constitute a highly specialized group among the Negro population of the South. In common with other Negroes they share in the main Negro characteristics, but in them these characteristics are sharply heightened and accentuated. They are almost unbelievably primitive, childlike, excitedly religious, ignorant, illiterate, humorous, shrewd, shiftless beyond expression, superstitious, unstable, likeable, loyal, full of a homely untutored philosophy, gifted with picturesque speech, humble, kindly, generous, good-natured, and entirely without malice. It hardly need be said that they likewise possess in high degree the universal Negro trait of having two quite separate and distinct sides, one for the white race and one for themselves.[7] Living close to nature they are

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[567] case of Thomas Hamilton Couper of 'Hopeton' on the Altamaha River is an example. Sir Charles Lyell, recognizing him as a distinguished fellow-naturalist, paid him a long visit in 1846 and made laudatory notes upon the library, the household, and the plantation with its five hundred slaves. Another pen has left an account of his burial in 1866, after his death in poverty and despair:

'The steps of the church were broken down, so we had to walk up a plank to get in; the roof was fallen in, so that the sun streamed down on our heads; while the seats were all cut up and marked with the names of Northern soldiers, who had been quartered there during the war. . . . . The funeral party arrived. The coffin was in a cart drawn by one miserable horse, and was followed by the Couper family on foot, having come this way from the landing, two miles off. From the cart to the grave the coffin was carried by four old family negroes, faithful to the end.' Ulrich B. Phillips, "Plantations With Slave Labor and Free," *American Historical Review*, July, 1925.

[7] This trait is of critical importance. The Negro is a superlative actor and pantomimist, and lets the white man see and know just what the Negro wishes him to—and no more.

Failure to take this into account leads to strange conclusions. It is the reason why so many visiting observers, even though earnest and sincere, have received and recorded impressions of the Negro in the South that are highly plausible—and more highly erroneous.

[113] For a shrewd and cynical summing-up of the case, see L. M. Hussey's "Homo Africanus", *The American Mercury*, Jan., 1925. See also Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson, *The Negro and His Songs*, University of North Carolina Press, 1925, pp. 6 and 9.

Following are three well-balanced expressions on this point, two looking to the

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Negro life and character coming in for its full share of attention. Along with the stream of stories in the traditional vein and in the conventional Negro dialect of fiction," a trickle of Gullah stories and sketches has likewise been produced." Within the last few years in South Caro-

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See Gaines, *The Southern Plantation*, pp. 62-94.

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Its literary appearances, listed chronologically by stages, are these:

I.

Mrs. Caroline Gilman, *Recollections of a Southern Matron*, Charleston, 1837.

Edgar Allen Poe, "The Gold Bug," 1843.

William Gilmore Simms, "The Snake of the Cabin," "The Lazy Crow," and "Caloya; or the Loves of the Driver," in *The Wigwam and the Cabin*, New York, 1845, 1846.

Slave Songs of the United States. A. Simpson and Co., New York, 1867; collected mainly at Port Royal, S. C., between 1861 and 1865, by officers of the Federal army and mission teachers, with prefatory comment on dialect and music by W. F. Allen, C. P. Ware, and Lucy McKim Garrison.

II.

Joel Chandler Harris, "Daddy Jack" stories in *Nights With Uncle Remus*, 1881.

Charles Colcock Jones, Jr., *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast Told in the Vernacular*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1888; reprinted by The State Co., 1925. 192 pp., 61 fables, 8 page glossary.

Rev. John G. Williams, *De Old Plantation*, pamphlet reprint by Walker, Evans and Cogswell Co. of the "Brudder Coteny's Sermons" originally appearing in the Charleston News and Courier and Sunday News. 68 pp., 15 sermons, and 2 sketches, written down during 1896 in Allendale.

Mrs. A. M. H. Christensen, *Afro-American Folk Lore, Told Round Cabin Fires on the Sea Islands of South Carolina*, Boston, 1892. IX-XIV, 116 pp., 18 fables.

J. Jenkins Hucks, *Plantation Negro Sayings on the Coast of South Carolina in Their Own Vernacular*, pamphlet printed by Charles W. Rouse, Georgetown, S. C., 1899 or 1900. Afterwards withdrawn from circulation by the author; to be reissued in enlarged form by the author's son, Dr. Herbert M. Hucks.

F. M. Cronise and H. W. Ward, *Cunnie Rabbit, Mr. Spider, and the Other Beef: West African Folk-Tales*, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London; E. P. Dutton & Co., N. Y., 1903. Exemplary tales, with brief prefatory commentary, including remarks on the dialect in Sierra Leone. Valuable for comparison with Carolina Gullah.

John Bennett, "Gullah: A Negro Patois," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Oct., 1908, Part I, pp. 332-347; Jan., 1909, Part II, pp. 39-52. A scholarly article on the dialect, in two parts.

III.

Within the last few years works have appeared, notable both in number and quality:

Ambrose E. Gonzales, *The Black Border, Gullah Stories of the Carolina Coast*, The State Co., 1922. 348 pp., 12 page Foreword, 42 stories, Gullah Glossary, Appendix (The Tar-Baby Story as told by Charles Colcock Jones, Jr., and by Joel Chandler Harris).

With Æsop Along the Black Border, July, 1924. IX-XIV, 298 pp., 60 fables, animal silhouettes by John Bennett.

The Captain, Stories of the Black Border, October, 1924. VII-XVI, 384 pp., 21 stories, 3 illustrations.

Laguerre, A Gascon of the Black Border, December, 1924. VII-XVI, 318 pp., 19 stories, 3 illustrations.

Mrs. Jane Screven Heyward, *Brown Jackets*, The State Co., 1923. 64 pp., 12 sketches.

114 lina there has been a rather surprising re-awakening of
538 interest in Gullah, resulting in a large amount of excellent work.

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113 Sadie E. Stewart, "Seven Folk-Tales from the Sea Islands, South Carolina," *JAFL*, XXXII, 394-396.

Elsie Clews Parsons, *Folk-Tales of the Sea Islands, South Carolina*, Memoir XVI of American Folk-Lore Society, 1923. XXV and 218 pp.

J. Palmer Lockwood, *Darkey Sermons from Charleston County*, The State Co., 1925. 46 pp., 3 sermons. ("Not the unadulterated Gullah of the rice-fields, but the patois of the negro who occasionally goes to Town." (i.e. Charleston.)

DuBose Heyward, *Porgy*, Geo. H. Doran Co., 1926, 196 pp.

Marcellus S. Whaley, *The Old Types Pass*, Christopher Pub. Co., 1925. V and 192 pp., 26 tales and sketches, glossary of 1500 words and 42 idioms; 6 songs with music; 8 illustrative sketches.

Saint Helena Island Spirituals, Recorded and Transcribed at Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School, by N. G. J. Ballanta of Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa, G. Schirmer, Inc., 1925. Foreword V-XVIII, 93 pp., 113 spirituals.

IV.

Neither in dialect nor specifically and exclusively about the Negro, there are many books dealing with the history and background of the Carolina coast which are both interesting and useful as conveying the authentic low-country setting and atmosphere. Numbers three to eight are war-time pictures.

Charles Colcock Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes* (from their first introduction into this country in 1620 to the year 1842), Thomas Purse, Savannah, 1842. 277 pp. (The author is the father of the author of *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast*.)

Mrs. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet: A Tale of Plantation Life in South Carolina*, J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1860. 569 pp.

Lieut.-Col. Freemantle, *Three Months in the Southern States, April-June 1863*, William Blackwood & Sons, London, 1863. Pages 179-206 deal with the Carolina low-country.

J. T. Trowbridge, *The South*, L. Stebbins, Hartford, Conn., 1866. Pages 511-545 on Charleston and Sea Islands.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment*, Fields, Osgood and Co., Boston, 1870. 294 pp. Chapter IX on Negro Spirituals.

Frances Butler Leigh, *Ten Years on a Georgia Plantation Since the War*, Richard Bentley & Son, London, 1883. This is an implicit comment, almost an *amende*, on the book of her famous mother, Frances Anne Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation in 1838-1839*.

Elizabeth Hyde Botume, *First Days Amongst the Contrabands*, Boston, Lee and Shephard, 1893. 286 pp.

Letters from Port Royal, Written at the Time of the Civil War, ed. by Elizabeth Ware Pearson, Boston, 1906.

Letters and Diary of Laura M. Towne, Written from the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862-1884, ed. Rupert Sargent Holland, Cambridge, 1912. 310 pp.

"Patience Pennington" (Mrs. Elizabeth W. Allston Pringle), *A Woman Rice Planter*, Macmillan Co., 1913. 447 pp.

I. Jenkins Mikell, *Rumbling of the Chariot Wheels*, The State Co., 1923. 273 pp.

Dorothy Scarborough, *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs*, Harvard University Press, 1925. Incidental Gullah Songs pages 168, 175, 184, 190, 196, 254, 256.

James Henry Rice, Jr., *Glories of the Carolina Coast*, R. L. Bryan Co., 1925. 123 pp.

Archibald Rutledge, *Tom and I on the Old Plantation*. Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1918; *Plantation Game Trails*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1921; *Old Plantation Days*, Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1921; *Heart of the South*, The State Co., 1924; *Days Off in Dixie*; Doubleday, Page & Co., 1924.

Herbert Ravenel Sass, *The Way of the Wild*, 1925; *Adventures in Green Places*, 1926, Minton, Balch & Co.

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The most important contribution in this field consists of the four recent volumes comprising the "Black Border Series," by Ambrose E. Gonzales, of Columbia, S. C." This series contains a total of one hundred and forty-five sketches and stories and totals over thirteen hundred pages. Its chief interest for the general reader lies along literary lines, but in addition to its literary values, the series is an important contribution to philology. A large proportion of the narrative is related in authentic Gullah dialog, which Mr. Gonzales handles with a charm and mastery not attained by any other writer."

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"*The Black Border, Gullah Stories of the Carolina Coast*, 1922. *With Æsop Along the Black Border*, July, 1924. *The Captain, Stories of the Black Border*, October, 1924. *Laguerre, A Gascon of the Black Border*, December, 1924. All four published by The State Co., Columbia, S. C.

See my review, American Speech, July, 1926.

Mr. Gonzales was peculiarly fitted to write Gullah. He is the grandson of a rice-planter. He was nursed by a faithful Negro mauma; as a child was waited upon by and played with Negroes; he hunted and fished with them. These long and familiar relationships have given him a rarely comprehensive and sympathetic understanding of the Negro temperament, which to the value of his work as literature add the authenticity of history and sociology.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Theodore D. Jervey in the closing chapter of his *The Slave Trade, Slavery and Color*, (The State Co., 1925), quotes from *The Black Border* in order to establish a desired argument. And the twelve sketches in *The Captain* (pp. 111-298), dealing with an attempted land settlement by Negroes in 1873, possess a charm and authenticity alike remarkable.

The flaw in many an otherwise good Negro dialect-story—and I am not now referring to those lamentable performances in which the crime is committed of making a darkey use the word "you-all" and mean thereby one person instead of a group of persons—but stories in which plot, setting and dialect are unimpeachably handled—the weakness is that the point of view is still Caucasian. The characters think, speak, and act like white people disguised for the nonce as Negroes; the hand is the hand of Ham but the voice is the voice of Japheth.

"To his skill in this respect, two fellow-writers of Gullah who have themselves successfully wrestled with its difficulties pay enthusiastic tribute. "As Ambrose Gonzales writes Gullah it is a dialect alive, full of graphic humor, and vividly grotesque; stripped and divested of its interior freight of fun, I think the text upon the page would still be humorous; the very type would go pranking by like the crowds at Mardi Gras." John Bennett, Review of *The Black Border*.

"Mr. Gonzales's Gullah is as perfect as it can be written, and he is easily the first honor man in that school. The low-country negro's description of a jackass to a negro who had never seen a jackass: ''E look same like mule, only mo' so,' is almost true of Mr. Gonzales's Gullah." John G. Williams, *De Ole Plantation*, V, VI.

On July 11, 1926, since this article was written, death stilled the gifted pen of Mr. Gonzales forever. He achieved The Black Border Series under tremendous, well-nigh insuperable difficulties, the details of which are contained in a personal letter of his to a friend in Charleston, Dec. 30, 1924. The stroke which he refers to as slight was in reality severe: it impeded his walking, thickened his speech, and made writing a slow and laborious process. "As soon as I was up from a slight stroke I suffered in May, 1922," he wrote, "I set to work on the foreword and glossary of *The Black Border*, and brought out the book under handicaps that would have broken a spirit

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THE DIALECT

197 What the Gullahs seem to have done was to take a sizeable part of the English vocabulary as spoken on the coast by the white inhabitants from about 1700 on, wrap their tongues around it, and reproduce it changed in tonality, pronunciation, cadence, and grammar to suit their native phonetic tendencies, and their existing needs of expression and communication. The result has been called by one writer "the worst English in the world". It would certainly seem to have a fair claim to that distinction. To understand it requires a trained ear, and at first blush it is equally unintelligible to white people and colored people alike.

[194] [193] "The ordinary reader," says Mr. Bennett, "may not always catch the meaning; the shapes of the words are strange; they are the residuum of language literally worn away by use; the phonology is archaic; the engaged grammar a mystery; to the wit and to the acute phonetic sense of the reader much must inevitably be left."[51]

It is easy to understand the bewilderment of a northern visitor to the South just after the war who fell in with a crowd of Negro refugees on the wharves in Charleston. "I tried to converse with others," he writes, "who spoke a wild jargon peculiar to the plantations, of which I understood hardly one word in ten."[52] White housekeepers in Georgetown, Charleston, and Beaufort have been heard at the present day to lament the fact that they could not understand their own cooks, which is but one way of confessing that they are not native, but have moved in from the up-country.

One of the funniest things I ever saw was a fashionable colored nurse-maid from the up-country listening for the first time to a Gullah cook and a Gullah fisherman on Pawley's Island arguing over the price of a string of fish. As the flood of Gullah vocables burst around her ears the up-country negro's expression was a study in mingled amazement and incredulity: she couldn't believe her own ears!

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[51] I, 377.

(113) [52] J. T. Trowbridge, *The South*, L. Stebbins, Hartford, Conn., 1866, p. 538.

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SPIRITUALS

533 The Gullahs abundantly possess the characteristic Negro gifts of rhythm, quick emotionalism, and harmony. From these, music inevitably comes. They sing many kinds of songs,—work-songs, boat-songs, shout-songs, and spirituals, but the spirituals, or prayer-songs, outrank in number and interest all other varieties.

As might be expected from background and environment, the spirituals of the low-country Negroes are like those found elsewhere, except that they are more primitive in quality, more fluid and less standardized, ruder in text, more pathetic in tone, and more plaintive in music.

Each time a spiritual is sung it is a new thing. Rarely does one hear a spiritual sung twice in exactly the same way. It is not static or final, but dynamic and growing, for it is the creature of oral tradition and fully exemplifies every possibility of variation associated with oral tradition and communal transmission.

New spirituals are constantly being made, either by

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(152) For an early description of the frenzy of emotionalism reached by Negroes in singing a favorite spiritual like "Jesus said He wouldn't die no mo'," see Elizabeth Kilham, "Sketches in Color, IV," *Putnam's Magazine*, March, 1870, pp. 307 and 308.

(113) Two good boat-songs, as well as a spiritual, a gospel hymn, and a miscellaneous song (all with words and music), are to be found in Marcellus S. Whaley, *The Old Types Pass*, Christopher Publishing Co., Boston, 1925.

(113) At least it was in the past, before the Negro folk-tradition came in for the wide attention it is now receiving both in sociology, music, and published criticisms. See Margaret Widdemer's, "Gathering Treasures Among Negro Folk Songs," *The Literary Digest International Book Review*, June, 1926, pp. 425, 426, for a convenient and sane review of four recent publications: Dorothy Scarborough, *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs*, Harvard University Press; Emmet Kennedy, *Mellows*, Boni and Liveright; James Weldon Johnson, *The Book of American Negro Spirituals*, The Viking Press; Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson, *The Negro and His Songs*, University of North Carolina Press. Since her review, two other books have been added to the contemporary list: James Weldon Johnson, *The Second Book of Negro Spirituals*, The Viking Press, 1926; William Arms Fisher, *Seventy Negro Spirituals*, Oliver Ditson Co., 1926. Mr. Fisher's twelve-page introduction is particularly valuable for its scholarly exposition of the history of the spirituals in American music.

Compare the statement of Professors Odum and Johnson (*Negro Workaday Songs*, University of North Carolina Press, 1926, p. 188): "There seems to be an impression abroad to the effect that the making of Negro spirituals stopped long ago. On the contrary, it is quite probable that more spirituals are being made today than during the days of slavery."

(179) Mr. Fisher is undeservedly hard on recent examples: "In both texts and music the post-war Spirituals lack the elemental vigor, directness, naturalness and spontaneity of the earlier songs. The texts have become sophisticated and the music debased by that hybrid white American product—the gospel hymn." *Seventy Negro Spirituals*, VIII.

533 individuals"[illegible] or by groups, spontaneously. The latter method is the more interesting because it is one of the rare contemporary situations where communal composition may be observed actually at work: An emotionally charged atmosphere (as religious worship regularly charges it among all but the most sophisticated Negroes) a striking, rhythmic phrase from preacher, leader, or worshiper, and the thing is done. One of the most beautiful of recent spirituals was a spontaneous outburst of petition to the great "Maussa" after the terrific cyclone of 1911 in South Carolina, built around the refrain-appeal, "Lord, don' let de win' blow here no mo'."[illegible] And during the World War a similarly tense situation produced a like result. As described by a Negro worshiper on that occasion: "Somebody shout out, 'O Lord, we gwine 't'row dat Kizer down,' an' den somebody else catch 'em an' t'row 'em back, an' befo' you know it de whole chu'ch was a-rockin' an' a-prayin'. It was a gran' hymn."[illegible]

Many of the simplest and most beautiful of the spirituals are cast in this form: that is, a striking leading line with choral repetition and variations. Frequently the words are crude, childish, and inconsequential, but usually both melody and harmony, especially harmony, are rhyth-

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[illegible] The same authorities (*Ibid.*, p. 189) describe individual authorship as follows: "Among the lowly Negro folk of the South the making of spirituals is still a reality. Every community has its 'composers'. Often they are supposed to possess some special gift of the 'spirit'. From sermon, prayer, and crude folk wisdom they draw ideas and inspiration for their compositions. Sometimes the results are pathetic, but not infrequently there springs up a song which would compare favorably with the old spirituals."

See, also, Johnson, *The Book of American Negro Spirituals*, Preface, 21.

[illegible] See Ballanta, *Saint Helena Island Spirituals*, No. 39.

[illegible] Two similar instances are thus described by Odum and Johnson (*The Negro and His Songs*, p. 32): "A Negro preacher recently reached a climax in his discourse in the phrase, 'Oh, with the wings of the morning, I'd fly to that heavenly land.' He repeated this a number of times and made gestures with his arms suggestive of flying. His black robe added to the forcefulness of the suggestion and the impression became a part of the song of that church. . . . If a single personality dominates the whole in an expression that appeals to the present sense of fitness, he is the author of a new song. For example, a visiting minister once shouted out during such a scene: 'Oh, the hearse-wheel a-rollin' an' the graveyard opening—ha, ha,' but got no further, for his refrain was taken up by the chorus, and the next day saw a new version of the well-known song."

(113) See, also, the origin of the song, "O, de ole nigger-driver!" as described by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "Negro Spirituals," *The Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1867, pp. 692, 693. It is from this article that the beautiful "Lay dis body down" spiritual is quoted on page 39.

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533 567 114 178 179 of both Christianity and slavery lie first, the native racial characteristics which were the really creative factors in the spirituals; and second, the particular environment which alone of all possible localities has called them into being." This combination created them; Christianity shaped and molded them; slavery lent fervor.

533 152 178 567 As to their sadness, long after the War and Emancipation even to the present day, the same yearning note has persisted in Negro music. As two scholarly authorities have well put it: "Slavery has passed, six decades of liberty for the slave people have signalized the better civilization, and there still remains among the Negroes the same emotional nature, the same sad, plaintive, beautiful, rhythmic, sorrow-feeling in their songs.'" On internal evidence it is impossible to date the spirituals. Those of 1880-1900 sound like those of 1840-1860.

533 152 [522] Likewise in the prolific "Blues" and the many songs of jail, chain-gang, prison, and lonesomeness," which are distinctly modern in composition, there is the same sad appealing note, with much self-pity. There is also, be it said in passing, a good deal of humor, which is the complement, not the opposite, of pathos.

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[527] carcity of spirituals based on the birth or infancy of Christ: "The reason may e due in part to the fact that the anniversary of the birth of Christ was not, in he South, in any sense a sacred or religious holiday. Up to within recent years, at least, it has been celebrated chiefly with gunpowder and whiskey. It has there been the most secular, even the most profane of all holidays. In slavery times it was the one day on which the slaves were given a sort of freedom. The liberty of coming and going was greatly enlarged. On many plantations whiskey was distributed. The day was one given over to a good time; to singing, dancing and visiting; to guzzling, gluttony and debauchery. It is possible that it was a conscious part of the scheme of slavery to make Christmas a day on which the slaves through sheer excess of sensuous pleasure would forget their bonds."

With the exception of a few statements here and there, like the following, the importance of environment has usually been overlooked: "If there is anything 'racial' about the spirituals and the blues, then there should be immediate ability to catch the intricate rhythm on the part of Negroes from Jamaica, Zanzibar, and Sierra Leone. Such is not the case, and we must conclude that they are the products of a certain American environment: The South. They are American folk-songs, built around Anglo-Saxon religious concepts." George E. Schuyler, "Correspondence," *The Nation*, July 14, 1926, p. 36. [113]

Odum and Johnson, *The Negro and His Songs*, p. 19.

[113] See the chapters on "Blues" and "Songs of Jail, Chain Gang, and Policemen" in Odum and Johnson, *Negro Workaday Songs*, the chapter on "Blues" in Dorothy Scarborough, *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs*, and W. C. Handy, *Blues, An Anthology*, A. and C. Boni, N. Y., 1926.

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I

GULLAH: THE DIALECT OF THE NEGROES OF ST. HELENA ISLAND

INTRODUCTION

THE NEGROES of St. Helena Island speak a dialect which is peculiar to the Negroes of the tidewater section of South Carolina and Georgia.[1] So unusual is the dialect of this area that an up-country person on first hearing it is likely to think that he is listening to a foreign language. It is as different from what is generally thought of as Negro dialect as the speech of the white Georgian is from that of the Chicagoan. With its rapidly spoken phrases, its staccato accents, and its rising and falling intonations, it sounds to the average American more like French or Spanish than any English he has ever heard. 197

This dialect is known as Gullah, as are also the Negroes who speak it. [101] How the word Gullah came to be so applied cannot be determined satisfactorily. Certainly it 101
has no ethnological significance, for the slaves were not 175
derived from any one tribal group in sufficient numbers 567

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[1] This dialect was first brought to the attention of scholars by such works as Mrs. Caroline Gilman's *Recollections of a Southern Matron*, 1837; William Gilmore Simms', *The Wigwam and the Cabin*, 1845, and other stories; and Allen's *Slave Songs of the United States*, 1861. (113) Later writers like Joel Chandler Harris, Mrs. A. M. H. Christensen, and Charles C. Jones published collections of folklore in the dialect. Still later the dialect began to receive some attention for its own sake, chiefly from John Bennett, Ambrose Gonzales, Marcellus S. Whaley, and Reed Smith. The articles by Bennett, published in the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Oct., 1908, and Jan., 1909, and the recent study by Smith, published as Extension Bulletin No. 190, University of South Carolina, contain the best analyses of the dialect. I have drawn freely from these and other sources for suggestions. For further references to the literature on Gullah, see the bibliography.

101 175 567 for that group to play an important role. Such evidence as we have, although it is rather meager, seems to indicate that the tribal composition of the slaves was a hodge-podge of a score or more of West and Central African peoples. In the records of the Charleston slave merchants and in the files of *The South Carolina Gazette* will be found statements which prove the diversity of African stocks among the slaves. A recent research reveals that the following African tribes or regions were specifically mentioned in the Charleston slave market:[2] Gambia River, Whidah, Fantee, Coromantine, Bassa, Bance Island, Angola, Bight, Calabar, Messe-Congo, and Ebo.

101 174 In an excellent study of the Gullah dialect, Professor Reed Smith, of the University of South Carolina, comments as follows on the probable origin of the term Gullah:[3]

> Both the word Gullah and the Negroes so named came from the West Coast of Africa, but exactly where has not been agreed upon. There are two widely-held conjectures. One is that Gullah is a shortened form of Angola, the name of an African West Coast district lying south of the Equator and the mouth of the Congo River. A small but positive bit of evidence to this effect is found in an entry of the Charleston City Council, under the year

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(113) [2] Elizabeth Donnan, "The Slave Trade in South Carolina Before the Revolution." *American Historical Review*, July, 1928. Miss Donnan makes this pertinent comment in a foothote: "It is a puzzling fact that the marked differences between the negro tribes, regarded as so important on their arrival, seem to have been speedily lost sight of. Advertisements of seasoned negroes, in so far as the writer has examined them, seldom emphasize the tribe or African locality from which the negro came; notices of runaway negroes occasionally mention place of origin but frequently do not. The evidence seems also to indicate that country-born negroes had lost all distinguishing characteristics or that the planter had grown oblivious to them with his longer association with the negroes."

(113) [3] *Gullah*, pp. 7-8. The Charleston City Council entry mentioned is probably that found in *An Account of the Late Intended Insurrection*, etc., published by A. E. Miller, Charleston, 1822.

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1822, in which reference is made to "Gullah Jack" and his company of "Gullah or Angola Negroes." This indicates that, rightly or wrongly, as far back as 1822 the official governing body of the City of Charleston regarded Gullah as a corrupted form of Angola. 101 174

A second, more probable suggestion is that Gullah comes from the name of the Liberian group of tribes known as the Golas living on the West Coast between Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast. These Golas were formerly numerous and powerful, but have now dwindled to a small remnant tribe dwelling some thirty miles inland from Monrovia, the chief sea-port of Liberia.

Mr. John Bennett, who made the first serious study of the history and characteristics of Gullah, held this view. He says:[4] 197 101

> The dialect of the West Coast, from which came these Gullah negroes was early commented upon as peculiarly harsh, quacking, flat in intonation, quick, clipped, and peculiar even in Africa. Bosman, the Dutch sailor, described its peculiar tonality, and calls its speakers the "quaquas, because they gabbled like geese."

Which of these theories is the more plausible is difficult to say. The derivation of the word Gullah is one thing and its usage another. Regardless of its true derivation, it came to be applied, not exclusively to one type of Negro, but to the Negroes of the sea-island and coastal region in general. Any ethnological significance that the word may have had at first was soon lost, and it seems likely that the entry of the Charleston City Council of 1822 represented the prevailing idea as to the derivation of the word. If the Golas were really important, would not the difference between them and the Angolas have become common knowledge after more than a hundred years 101

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[4] "Gullah: A Negro Patois." *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Oct., 1908. There is room for difference of opinion as to whether the Gullah speech is harsh or quacking. It did not strike me that way at all. (113)

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194 126 speaker of unadulterated Gullah gives a mouth-full-of-mush effect, rolling out his short-clipped words with a rapidity which is amazing to those who think that all Negroes drawl. An accurate recording of this pure type is very difficult, and, when done, gives a peculiar result indeed. Jones, Gonzales, Whaley, and a few others have (114) succeeded very well in reducing it to writing. Their results are quite different from those of Mrs. Christensen and Mrs. Parsons, in part because the latter collected their stories from people who spoke a modified Gullah.[9]

Two persons rarely hear the same sounds exactly alike. If they do, they will probably represent them differently in writing. Some dialect writers, having achieved the "accurate recording" state of mind, carry the thing to the extreme and spell phonetically many words which are pronounced in the standard way by Negroes and white people. For example, a writer who would spell his own pronunciations of *little, victual, about,* in the standard way, is sometimes guilty of representing Negro speech as *littul* or *lit'l, vittle* or *vittul,* and *uhbout* when the Negro and the standard pronunciations are alike.

539 (19) The following specimens will not only serve to introduce the reader to the phonology, grammar, and idiom of the dialect, but will give him some idea of the variations due to locality and to the method of recording.

I[10]

Buh Lion bin a hunt, an eh[1] spy Buh Goat duh leddown[2] topper er big rock duh wuk eh mout an der chaw. Eh creep up fuh

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(576) [9] Like everyone else, these Negroes have "company manners." When talking to a stranger, especially to a white man, they tend to tone down their speech so that it is more easily understood than is their ordinary conversation with one another.

•(113) [10] From Jones, *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast,* p. 38. Explanatory notes are printed below each of the excerpts which follow.

een one oxin cyaa't[12] weh 'e come f'um. All de time 'e binnuh box me, uh bin study 'bout how da' 'ooman' cawpse would'uh look ef uh had uh hit 'um like de time w'en uh nyuse to be uh Ben! En' uh study 'pun him husbun', my wife Sarah boy John, en' un study 'pun John' maamy, en' uh t'ink 'bout how dem will mo'n ef uh kill dis 'ooman, en' wid Gawd help us hab strengk 'nuf fuh hol' me han'. Gin'ul, w'enebbuh uh look 'puntop de' dead 'ooman een me mine', uh tengk Gawd eb'ry day fuh hol' me han'!" . . .

[1] either so, i.e. either, or, nor, etc. [2] and. [3] used, accustomed to. [4] manners. [5] don't care. [6] stick. [7] grab them (her). [8] like a, as if. [9] eye. [10] both. [11] ain't. [12] cart.

III[12]

"Wey[1] yo' is bun[2]? Tell me say."
"Down een[3] de 'za'b[4]."
"Wuh[5] yuh bun duh do down de-dey[6] een de 'za'b?"
"Bun duh fush[7]."
"Ketch um?"
"Sho'!"
"How many?"
"Too many[8]."
"Lemme shum[9]! Wey 'e dey[10]?"
" 'E de-dey[11]."
"Wey?"
"Dey de-dey, Opey do[12]!"
"Yunt[13] opey do' twill me yiz shum[14]!"
"Yunt gwine shum twill opey do'!"

[1] where. [2] been. [3] in. [4] reserve, a compound of fresh water. [5] what. [6] there. [7] fish. [8] very many. [9] see them. [10] where are they (where he there)? [11] here they are (he right there). [12] open the door. [13] ain't. [14] till I see them.

IV[13]

Regardless of who might be fishing, "Dah Dannil" would always catch more fish than any other in the boat. If one should ask him how he accomplished that feat, he would invariably, should others be present, whisper the secret of his success: "Well, I tell yuh, son, but yuh ain'fuh tell *nubbody*, cuz I nebbuh tell

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[12] From Bennett, "Gullah: a Negro Patois," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, VII, p. 334.

[13] From Whaley, *The Old Types Pass*, pp. 128-29.

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the use of archaic words and pronunciations; (3) the use 539
of corrupt forms of English. There is, of course, more 19
than this to the dialect, but these are really its distinguishing
features as one gets them from the printed page. Perhaps 194
the most interesting feature of the dialect is the way
it is spoken. Its rapid succession of sounds with their
sudden and extensive changes in pitch is something which
has to be heard to be understood.

A careful study of Gullah reveals that there is law 128
and order in the seeming chaos of this dialect. There is 193
no better way to gain an understanding of the nature and 194
development of Gullah than to take up in some detail its
phonology and grammar. As the analysis proceeds it will (177)
become more and more apparent that practically every
detail of the Gullah grammar and phonology is directly
descended from the midland and southern English dialects.

PHONOLOGY[15] 194

Vowels

(*a*, *ea*, as in *art*, *heart*)

Words having *ar* or *al* plus a consonant, as in *art*, *cart*, *heart*, *calm*, are pronounced by most Gullah speakers as if the vowel were that found in *fat*, *that*, *hat*. This vowel is prolonged slightly, so that *heart* becomes *haat*, *lark* be-

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[15] In tracing the relation between the Gullah phonology and the seventeenth-century English dialect phonology, there is of course some difficulty in obtaining accurate accounts of the latter. In most of the English dialect areas, however, there has been no great change in the phonological traits, so that eighteenth and nineteenth century records are accurate enough in general for the purposes of this analysis. Various dictionaries, grammars, and dialect glossaries have been consulted, also the works of men like Halliwell, Skeat, Sweet, the Wrights, etc. The (113).
monumental works, *The English Dialect Grammar* and *The English Dialect Dictionary*, both edited by Joseph Wright, draw upon all sources, and I have relied upon them for much of my comparative data.

192 may be obtained by a statistical analysis of the largest published glossary available. Gonzales[93] has listed nearly 2,000 of the words most commonly used in the dialect in the Edisto Island region. If these words be divided arbitrarily into appropriate classes, the following distribution results:[94]

I.	Standard English words pronounced in standard way or as in English dialect of 18th century	92 per cent
II.	Corruptions and mutilations of standard English words (some of these corruptions are no doubt of English dialect origin)	6 per cent
III.	Archaic and obsolescent English words	2 per cent
IV.	African words	Less than 0.5 per cent

128
A Partial List of Archaic and Provincial English Usages Surviving in the Dialect[95]

192 The following list includes the most common archaic and provincial English words found in the dialect. A prolonged study would reveal several others, perhaps, but these are the most common. Few, if any, of these, however, occur exclusively in the Gullah, for in various other parts of this country many of these words survive either among Negroes or white people or both. Some are not used on St. Helena, as far as I can ascertain. The list is composed of words not now in general use, and words in general use but having an archaic meaning in the Gullah.

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[93] *The Black Border*, Glossary, pp. 287-340.

[94] This distribution also holds good for Whaley's glossary of 1,500 words. Jones' glossary is relatively short, and most of his words are found in Gonzales' list.

[113] [95] For tracing the paternity of various Gullah words, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, Wright's *Provincial Dictionary*, Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, and the *N. E. D. (New English Dictionary)* are invaluable.

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192 *Chance*, a quantity, a considerable amount. "I raised a right good chance o' potatoes," "I had a plenty to eat fuh suppuh, a good chance," etc.

Coz, cuz, cuz'n, etc., cousin, used as a form of address, as in Shakespeare's day.

Find, to supply with provisions, to keep one in victuals, etc.

Fo'punce chicken (also *seb'npunce chicken*), used to describe chickens of certain sizes.

Foreigner, anyone born outside St. Helena Island or whatever community the speaker lives in. Exactly the old Kent and Sussex usage: "In some parts of Kent all born in another parish are still called foreigners." *Prov. Dict.*, also *N. E. D.*

Frail, to beat, strike, whip. Also used elsewhere in the South by whites and Negroes. It originated in England from *flail* by the process of dissimilation.[96]

Gaum (or *gorm*), to smear one's face with grease, victuals, etc.

Gall (*gaul* in some glossaries), swamp. The *E. D. D.* lists as one meaning of *gall*, "wet, spongy land." It also lists *gault*, "wet, boggy land."

Gunjuh, ginger or molasses cookie.

Graff, to grab, grasp, grapple, seize.

Hippo, ipecac. Until rather recently this was in common use for ipecac, the full name of which is hippocachuana or hippechachuana. In a medical book published in this country as late as 1848, *hippo* appeared as the ordinary term for ipecac.[97]

Killick, an anchor of stone.

Larging, swaggering, putting on airs, etc. This may be from *enlarging*, or from the same *larging* used in England to mean "spending the money given in largess." The Cumberland, "He's gone a-larging," is pretty close to the Gullah usage. See *E. D. D.*

Limous (in the expression *limous cooter*), mud, muddy.

Make your manners, used by the Negroes as it was in England:

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[96] See *E. D. G.*, §252.

[97] J. Hume Simons, *The Planter's Guide and Family Book of Medicine*, Charleston, S. C., 1848.

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pronounced *to't*. In Northampton *toddy* meant heavy or weighty. It seems likely that in some part of England *tote* was acquiring the sense of hefting or carrying a weighty object about the time of the settlement of America, and that Negroes and others not familiar with the restricted meaning of the word, enlarged its meaning to its present American form.

Touch, small amount, "a little bit." "Leave me a leetle tetch o' dat pie." "'E got a tetch o' de fevuh." Not exclusively Gullah.

To that, to that extent, so much that, etc. "If you want it to dat," if you want it that much.

Uncle, a term of respect for old men.

Use, to frequent or roam over a certain area, used especially of game, cattle, etc. Used by Spenser, Milton, Shakespeare, and others. Heard occasionally among whites in the South Atlantic States.

Yowe, ewe.

Two other words might be mentioned here, one derived from French, the other from the West Indian by way of Spanish. *Bateau*, a flat-bottomed row-boat, is much used in the Gullah. This word was introduced by the French Huguenots, who were an important factor in the settlement of South Carolina and Georgia. It also survives in other parts of this continent, especially in Louisiana and in the French portion of Canada. Another type of boat, the dug-out, is called *piragua*, pronounced *pattyauguh* by the Negroes. This came from a West Indian word,[100] which the Spanish have adopted in the form (194) of *piragua* or *pirogue*.[101] The dialect pronunciation no doubt arises from an attempt to imitate the Spanish trill on the *r*, which gives it a slight *t* sound.

• (113) [100] Rochefort, in his *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Iles de l'Amerique*, Rotterdam, 1658, mentioned vessels used by the Caribs, "qu'ils nomment *Canot ou Piraugues*," p. 347.

[101] Still used in Florida.

alect speech is a debatable question, but it is more probably 194
from the former. It is difficult to find anything specific
on the musical intonations of eighteenth century English
dialect speech. There are occasional references to
the "Welsh cadence," the "Suffolk whine," the sing-song
speech of East Anglia, etc., but probably none of these is
quite the same as the Gullah intonations.

In English we use a stress accent to indicate the meaning 000
of words, and speech melody is secondary. We indicate
different shades of meaning or types of emotion by
changes in pitch, but the definitions of our words are the
same regardless of pitch. In West Africa, on the other
hand, there is no such thing as stress accent. There is
musical or pitch accent.[114] The same word may mean two
entirely different things, depending on whether the vowel
is pitched high or low. Thus in Ewe "fu" with the *u*
pitched low means *sea*, with the *u* pitched high means
bone.[115] The combination "ele afi" may mean, "he is
here," "he rubbed himself with ashes" or "he caught a
mouse," depending on the pitch accent of the vowels.[116]
Since musical accent was the very life of the West African 194
languages it is quite possible that the Negro carried over
this language habit to some extent and that this accounts
for the presence of the unusual pitch fluctuations heard
among the old-time Gullah speakers. The survival of 194
such a habit did not interfere with the Negro's efficiency as 191
a speaker of English, for English accents are of the stress
type, and any musical qualities remaining in his speech

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[114] For a discussion of these accents see Carl Meinhof, *An Introduction to the Study of African Languages* (tr. by A. Werner), p. 70 et. seq. See also *Les Langues du Monde* (ed. by Meillet and Cohen), part entitled, "Langues du Soudan et de la Guinée." (113).

[115] Meinhof, p. 77.

[116] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

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> forth to them that are worthy of their being greatly affected by, I rejoice in it much more than merely in an appearance of solemn attention, and a show of affection by weeping; and that because when there have been those outcries, I have found from time to time a much greater and more excellent effect.[5]
>
> Another thing that gives great disgust to many, is the disposition that persons show, under great affections, to speak so much, and with such earnestness and vehemence, to be setting forth the greatness, and wonderfulness, and importance of divine and eternal things, and to be so passionately warning, inviting, and entreating others.[6]
>
> Another thing that some have found fault with, is abounding so much in singing in religious meetings. . . .[7]
>
> . . . all that is pleasant and glorious, and all that is terrible in this world, seemed perfectly to vanish into nothing, and nothing to be left but God, in whom the soul was perfectly swallowed up, as in an infinite ocean of blessedness: since which time there have often been great agitation of body, and an unavoidable leaping for joy; and the soul as it were dwelling almost without interruption, in a kind of paradise; and very often, in high transports, disposed to speak of those great and glorious things of God and Christ, and the eternal world, that are in view, to others that are present, in a most earnest manner, and with a loud voice, so that it is next to impossible to avoid it: these effects on the body not arising from any bodily distemper or weakness, because the greatest of all have been in a good state of health.[8]

The following extracts from letters written to Edwards in 1741 are significant:[9]

> . . . God has spoken to us in a more soft and calm Wind; and we have neither had those Outcries and Faintings in our Assem-

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[5] Jonathan Edwards, *On Revivals, Containing a Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God . . . in Northampton, Massachusetts, A.D. 1735*, p. 249.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 252.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 257.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

[9] Jonathan Edwards, *Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God*, pp. 77, 78.

other gatherings. The editors of some of these books made significant statements in their prefaces. The editor of *The Christian Lyre*, a book which was copyrighted in 1830 and had gone through eighteen editions by 1838, stated:[10]

> Every person conversant with revivals must have observed that whenever meetings for prayer and conference assume a special interest, there is a desire to use hymns and music of a different character from those ordinarily heard in church. . . . As the work is not designed to please scientific musicians, so much as to profit plain christians, reference will be had, chiefly, to the known popularity and good influence of what is selected. And it is intended to embrace the music that is most current among different denominations of Christians.

The editor of the *Millennial Harp* wrote:[11]

> We are aware of the difficulty of suiting the taste of all classes in musical and devotional compositions. . . . Some of our hymns, which might be objected to by the more grave and intellectual, and to which we ourselves, have never felt any great partiality, have been the means of reaching, for good, the hearts of those who, probably, would not otherwise have been affected.

The editor of *Village Hymns*, a book which was only a little less dignified than the hymns of Watts, to which, indeed, it was intended to be a sort of supplement, defended himself for omitting the revival hymns then in vogue:[12]

> There is a numerous class of hymns which have been sung with much pleasure and profit in seasons of revival, and yet are entirely destitute of poetic merit. Some of my brethren, acquainted with this fact, will probably be disappointed when they find, that so many have been omitted. Others, unacquainted with

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[10] *Christian Lyre*, p. 3.

[11] *Millennial Harp, Designed for Meetings on the Second Coming of Christ*, p. 2.

[12] Ashael Nettleton, *Village Hymns*, p. vi. The preface is dated 1825.

000 of which disappeared with the decline of the fervor for camp meetings. And to these might be added, since secular tunes have time and again "got religion," the vast body of white everyday social songs, traditional ballads, children's game songs, nursery rhymes, etc.

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177 Was the Negro in direct contact with the white revival song? The records of evangelists, travelers, and others show that he was often present at the meetings of the whites.[14] Bellinger, describing one of his big meetings, wrote: "The negroes are out in great crowds, and sing with voices that make the woods ring."[15] In 1845 a South Carolinian wrote that there were more Negro Baptists and Methodists than white in the South and that "almost everywhere they have precisely the same opportunities of attending worship that the whites have, and besides, special occasions for themselves exclusively."[16]

There is one more point which is pertinent here: prior to the Civil War nothing had been said about the Negro possessing a distinctive type of religious song. A few travellers had spoken of certain Negro songs as wild, barbaric, fugue-like, etc.,[17] but most of them commented on the Negro's knowledge of white religious songs. Sir Charles Lyell said of some Negro boatmen on the estate of Hamilton Couper, "occasionally they struck up a hymn,

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(113) [14] See for example, the works of Asbury and Dow; also Woodson, *History of the Negro Church*; Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes*; and various local histories of Methodist and Baptist churches.

[15] *Stray Leaves*, p. 17.

(113) [16] *Two Letters on Slavery in the United States*, by J. H. Hammond, Columbia, S. C., 1845, p. 25. Quoted by White, *American Negro Folk-Songs*, p. 37.

[17] Hundley, in his *Social Relations in Our Southern States*, thought that the Negroes had certain "wild choruses and lullaloos, which their fathers must have brought with them from Africa," but he described their religious songs as "not so peculiar and striking." P. 348.

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taught them by the Methodists, in which the most sacred subjects were handled with strange familiarity."[18] Another English writer wrote:

> Just before bed-time more solemn sounds are heard: the negro is demonstrative in his religion, and loud and musical were heard every evening the hymns. . . . Remarkable for correctness are their songs, and both men's and women's voices mingled in soft though far-sounding harmony. Some old church tunes I recognized.[19]

Another writer stated that

> . . . the loudest and most fervent camp-meeting singers amongst the whites are constrained to surrender to the darkeys in "The Old Ship of Zion" or "I Want to go to Glory."[20]

William Howard Russell mentioned "those wild Baptist chants about the Jordan in which they (the Negroes) delight."[21] One of the most significant statements, however, is found in a little-known sketch by William Cullen Bryant. The poet visited a tobacco factory in Richmond in 1843. In a certain room about eighty Negroes sang as they worked. Among other comments on the singing, he quoted the proprietor of the factory as follows:

> "What is remarkable," he continued, "their tunes are all psalm tunes and the words are from hymn books; their taste is exclusively for sacred music; they will sing nothing else. Almost all these persons are church members; we have not a dozen about the factory who are not so. Most of them are of the Baptist persuasion; a few are Methodists."[22]

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[18] *Second Visit to the United States of North America*, etc., pp. 244-5.

[19] Rev. Wm. Wyndham Malet, *An Errand to the South in the Summer of 1862*, p. 49. In the library of Dr. Yates Snowden, Columbia, S. C.

[20] Hundley, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

[21] *My Diary North and South*, p. 143.

[22] Quoted (probably from New York *Evening Post*) in DeBow's *Review*, n.s., I, 326 (1850).

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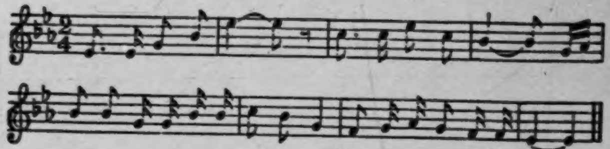
and this tune is practically identical with the chorus of *Camptown Races,* published by Stephen Foster in 1850.[81] 177 533



Krehbiel pointed out the similarity of *Lord, Remember Me* and *Camptown Races,*[82] but the more obvious connection of the latter with *Roll, Jordan, Roll,* escaped him. There have grown up various myths to the effect that Foster spent more or less time in the South and took his tunes from Negroes.[83] Foster was a Pennsylvanian of Scotch-Irish descent. He was never South except on a brief trip down the Mississippi and possibly a visit to Kentucky, both of these occurring after he had written most of his "Ethiopian" Melodies. Krehbiel said of the *Camptown Races* tune that "it is more likely that he [Foster] invented it and that it was borrowed in part for a hymn by the Negroes." Here we have an instance of a popular song partly displacing the religious tune which the Negroes had borrowed in *Lord, Remember Me,* and being adopted into another spiritual, *Roll, Jordan, Roll,* which was probably already being sung to another tune.

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[81] See *Heart Songs,* pp. 352-54.

[82] *Afro-American Folk-Songs,* pp. 16-17.

[83] See, for example, *Negro Year Book,* 1925-26, p. 344, for a quotation (origin not given) telling how Foster journeyed South to get the tune of *Swanee River* from a Negro woman. As a matter of fact, he inserted "Swanee" in a song he had written after careful search of a map to find a name of two syllables and romantic sound. See *Stephen Collins Foster, a Biography,* by Harold Vincent Milligan, N. Y., 1920, pp. 61, 68, 72.

[113]

114 and I believe that a diligent search among the less sophisti-
538 cated islanders will reveal about as high a proportion of
this type of story as is found in the Bahamas and West Indies.

114 Mrs. Parsons also believed that obscene turns, so com-
538 mon in the Bahamas, were "quite lacking in Carolina."
831 This might have been true as far as she could tell, for the
Negroes were undoubtedly inhibited in the presence of a woman collector. I found their stories and riddles quite rich in *double entente* and obscene turns, and the most vulgar story I heard was told me by a 16-year-old school girl. Many stories have their "other" versions. On several occasions, men or boys told the conventional versions if girls were present, and then took me aside to tell me the tabooed versions. These were often merely risqué or vulgar rather than truly obscene, but there was plenty of the latter to disprove Mrs. Parsons' idea. Indeed, whether she knows it or not, her book contains a considerable quantity of vulgar folklore.

538 Because of the existence of Mrs. Parsons' excellent
book, it is unnecessary to give in detail in the present re-
128 port all of the folklore collected on St. Helena Island.
A few typical stories, riddles, beliefs, etc., are sufficient
538 here. For further details and for a larger bibliography
of Negro folklore, one may consult Mrs. Parsons' work.
113 *Black Yeomanry*, by T. J. Woofter, Jr., and *A Social History of the Sea Islands*, by Guion Griffis Johnson, companion volumes to this one, contain much valuable material relating to folkways on St. Helena Island.

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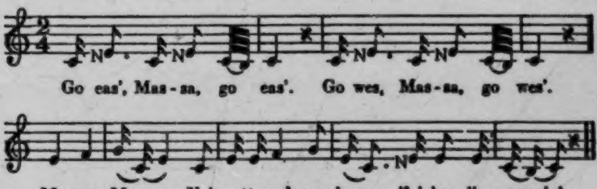
N
Go eas', Mas-sa, go eas'. Go wes, Mas-sa, go wes'.
Mas-sa, Mas-sa, Yo' pretty gal gone home 'fo' day dis morn-in'.

NOTE: N indicates a neutral third, in this case a tone between E and E-flat.

Debbil yeah dat, an' 'e jump on 'e hoss an' staa't fuh obertake de gal. She drop one o' de needle an' big fores' grow up, an' debbil have to git ax an' cut 'e way all t'rough um. but 'e git t'rough an' 'bout to ketch de gal ag'in. She drop annodah needle, an' big rivah rise up, an' debbil have to go back an' git boat an' row across. Gal almos' home now, but debbil git across rivah an' keep a comin'. 'E jes' 'bout to ketch 'er when she drop de las' needle. When she drop dat a big fiah come an' burn up de debbil. Den she git home wid her faddah and muddah.

XV

TOO LAZY TO LIVE[11]

Once there was a slave on Wallace or Tom Fripp Plantation who was too lazy to work. His master punished him, but he wouldn't work. When his master gave him corn to grind for bread, he wanted somebody to grind

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[11] As told by Mr. Aurelius Brown, teacher in Penn School. I found several variants of this story, usually given local settings. It is interesting to note, however, that it was known more than a hundred years ago in Jamaica. In his charming *Journal of a West Indian Proprietor*, Matthew Gregory ("Monk") Lewis relates that the story was thought to have originated on a certain Jamaican plantation whose owner was accustomed to disposing of his worn-out slaves by sending them to a desolate place called "the Gulley" and leaving them to die of exposure and starvation. The cruel master always had his men bring back the shroud and board so that he would have no expense. See the song, as quoted by Lewis in his *Journal*, p. 322.

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PREFACE

This study of the social history of the Sea Islands of 121
South Carolina and Georgia, and more particularly
of St. Helena Island, South Carolina, is one of three volumes (122)
resulting from the coöperative research project concerning
Negro culture on St. Helena Island made under
the joint auspices of the Institute for Research in Social
Science of the University of North Carolina and the Social
Science Research Council. It was originally planned as a
brief background study, but, in the search for data, so
many valuable manuscript pieces were unearthed from
dusty attics, strong-boxes, and long-forgotten chests that it
was deemed advisable to lengthen the study into many
pages. Later, the archives of the United States Treasury (127)
Department were opened for purposes of this research,
and for the first time a complete picture of the Sea Islands
during the Federal occupation throughout the Civil War
has been made possible.

I have attempted to trace the history of one of the
largest of the Sea Islands in its relation to the larger history
of the coastal area of which it is inextricably a part.
I have been concerned chiefly with cultural developments
rather than with men and with politics, and I have always
sought to discover the historical antecedents of life on St.
Helena as it is today. I have brought this history to the
close of the Reconstruction Period. The subsequent history 121
of the Island—the struggle of the people to keep 113
their land in the face of poverty, the destruction of their
money crop by the coming of the boll weevil and the consequent
economic re-adjustment, the prosperity of a few
despite these handicaps, the broadening influence of Penn
School on the lives of the people—is told in *Black Yeo-*

121 *manry* by T. J. Woofter, Jr. Other special aspects of the
113 island culture, such as the Gullah dialect, folk songs, and
folklore, are presented in the third volume, *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island*, by Guy B. Johnson.

127 In the preparation of this manuscript I have become
greatly indebted to many persons. To name all of those
128 who have assisted me in obtaining data or in putting me
on the trail of old plantation records would make a long list. I am grateful to each of them. I am especially indebted to Mr. William Elliott, of Columbia, South Carolina, who has generously lent me all of his family papers bearing on the study and who has carefully gone over my manuscript; to Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, who very kindly made the records in his office accessible for purposes of this study and who has made many valuable notations on my manuscript; to Miss Rossa B. Cooley and Miss Grace B. House, principals of Penn Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural School, of St. Helena Island, who have graciously facilitated the collection of data; to Professor J. G. de R. Hamilton and Professor R. D. W. Connor, of the History Department of the University of North Carolina, and Dr. Katharine Jocher, assistant director of the Institute for Research in Social Science, who have carefully read the manuscript; and to Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., director of the St. Helena project, who has sympathetically guided this study to its completion. I am also indebted to Mr. George Foster Peabody and the Corporation of Yaddo for a delightful summer at Triuna Island, on Lake George, where much of this manuscript was written.

G. G. J.

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Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

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175 was the first Protestant settlement in North America and the first white settlement near St. Helena Island.[5]

In 1566 Pedro Menendez de Avilés, adelantado and captain-general of Florida and its provinces, erected the presidio San Filipe near the site of Charlesfort, which had been destroyed by Hernando Maurique de Rojas in 1564. Here Spain maintained a garrison for ten years, when the Indians burned the fort after having forced the Spanish to evacuate it.[6] In 1577, however, the Spanish erected Fort San Marcos, a larger and more substantial building, and about it there grew a town of more than sixty houses, for here Spain maintained a garrison and a mission until 1587 when Santa Elena was again abandoned.[7] The activities of the Spanish after the abandonment are not clear, but by 1655 missions had been reopened.

175 797 These missionary efforts were carried on first by Jesuits and later by Franciscans. Spain's frontier policy, unlike that of England, was based upon the mission.[8] At Santa Elena, just as at every other Spanish frontier in North and South America, missionaries, under the protection of a guard and a fort, sought to instruct the Indians in religion, agriculture, and the arts. They settled the barbarous tribes in a village adjacent to the mission-fort, instructed them in the faith, and attempted to teach them the ways of civilized life.

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[5] For an account of Ribaut's activities at Port Royal see Connor, *Jean Ribaut.*

[6] For a description of the three forts built on Parris Island in the sixteenth century see A. S. Salley, Jr., "The Site of Charlesfort," in Connor, *Jean Ribaut*, pp. 113-124.

[7] For a comprehensive account of Spanish activities in Georgia and South Carolina, see Herbert E. Bolton, *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia: A Contribution to the History of One of the Spanish Borderlands.*

[8] H. E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," *American Historical Review*, XXIII, 42-61.

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THE ANGLO-SPANISH CONFLICT

When Captain William Hilton in 1663 explored the 175 Carolina coast southward from Cape Fear under the auspices of a group of Barbadians, the Anglo-Spanish contest for Santa Elena began. Upon his arrival at Parris Island, Hilton found there a Spanish garrison from San Augustín, and he immediately withdrew to avoid capture.[9] Three years later when Robert Sandford explored this region he found signs of preparations for new buildings on Parris Island and "a faire wooden Crosse of the Spaniards erecc̃on" in the Plaza of the town. Sandford considered Santa Elena, or Port Royal, as he called the territory, the most favorable site for the settlement of a colony and recommended it highly to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina who sent him on the expedition.

Dr. Henry Woodward who went with Sandford remained with the cassique of Santa Elena who gave him "formall possession of the whole Country to hold as Tennant at Will of the right Hono^{ble} Lords Proprietors." But the English had to face twenty years of conflict before they could claim the possession of Santa Elena.[10] In this conflict Dr. Woodward played an important role, for his sojourn with the Indians and his subsequent capture by the Spaniards taught him not only the tongues of the natives, but the methods of the Spanish as well.[11]

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[9] For the accounts of Hilton, Sandford, and Woodward in the Santa Elena, or Port Royal, territory, see Salley, *Narratives of Early Carolina*, pp. 31-57, 75-107; "Shaftesbury Papers," *South Carolina Historical Society Collections*, V, 18-28, 57-82. (113)

[10] Belton, *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia*, pp. 28-44.

[11] For a biography of Woodward see Joseph W. Barnwell, "Dr. Henry Woodward, The First English Settler in South Carolina and Some of His Descendants," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, VIII, 29-41. (113)

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bly a hauling or drawing up the earth to the plants, they are gradually thinned until June, when careful hands are selected to give the final thinning. This is a nice point, on which nothing like uniformity of practice prevails. In high lands, whose fertility has been impaired by frequent cropping, as many as one hundred and twenty stalks may be left in a task row, (105 feet). In newer, stronger or lower lands, where the growth of the plants is increased, the number must be proportionably diminished.

The plants are hauled, whenever the growth is checked by drought or threatened by grass, *until the middle of July*, beyond which period, it is unsafe to haul the earth to any fields but such as have been planted late in the season. . . .

We gather it as soon as possible after it has burst the pods, that it may avoid injury as well from dirt, as from too much exposure to the sun. Women and boys prove the most efficient pickers. The greatest care is used by them to separate the Cotton, all dried leaves or other substances may impair or discolour the staple. It is then spread, if wet, on a scaffold and exposed to the sun; but, if gathered in dry weather, *on the floor in the house*, to suffer whatever moisture it has imbided to escape, before it is stowed away in bulk. It is then passed once through a patent whipper, (M'Birnie's,) and sorted in the seed, at the rate of one to two hundred pounds to the hand. It is now ready for the gin. Eave's was formerly in successful use; but that, as well as the barrel gin, has been superseded by the common foot or crank gin, whose extreme simplicity of structure has given it an advantage over others more efficient, but more complicated . . . thirty pounds of clean Cotton as a day's labour, are easily turned out to each gin. It is then moted, often, but not always, on frames of wire or latticed wood, at a rate varying from fifteen to thirty pounds to the hand, and is then packed and ready for market.[22]

The preparation of the staple for market was the most tedious part of the growth of sea-island cotton. Before 1820, however, this was not considered to be the case.

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[22] William Elliott, "On the Cultivation and High Prices of Sea-Island Cotton," *Southern Agriculturist*, I, 152-154.

CHAPTER III

THE LABORERS AND THE LAND

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PLANTERS coming to South Carolina from Barbados, Jamaica, Antigua, and St. Kitts brought with them the idea of the plantation regime with slavery as the basis of the labor system. In 1682 Samuel Wilson, writing an account of Carolina for the Lords Proprietors as an advertisement designed to attract settlers, spoke of the necessity of slaves in the province, "without which a Planter can never do any great matter."[1]

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY SLAVE TRADE

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Prior to 1730 the accessible data concerning the slave trade in South Carolina are scanty, but the enactment of numerous laws laying a duty on the importation of slaves indicates that the slave population was rapidly increasing.[2] In the years after 1730, the importation of slaves into South Carolina ranged, when the import duty was not prohibitive, from as low as 72 in 1749 to as high as 11,641 in 1773.[3] The trade was carried on by British and South Carolina merchants, and the slave vessels, largely from New England, usually came consigned to a merchant who conducted a general importing trade in Charles Town. The arrival of a cargo brought planters to the sale in great numbers. Henry Laurens, one of the leading slave importers in the province, mentioned a sale in 1755 attended

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[1] "Account of Carolina," in Salley, *Narratives of Early Carolina*, p. 174.

[2] Elizabeth Donnan, "The Slave Trade Into South Carolina Before the Revolution," *American Historical Review*, XXXIII, 804-828.

[3] Based upon estimates made by Elizabeth Donnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 807-809.

CHAPTER V

PLANTATION MANAGEMENT

000 WHILE MOST sea-island planters were ready to agree upon the unsuccessfulness of growing long staple cotton, at least one of them was unwilling to attribute their failure to caterpillars, storms, and the Charleston factors. Whitemarsh B. Seabrook, writing on this subject in 1834 for the *Southern Agriculturist,* was of the opinion that it was due rather to the planter's mismanagement: to his absence from the plantation in the summer months, to his want of strict personal supervision when he was at home, to over-planting, and to ignorance.[1]

THE OVERSEER

St. Helena planters quite generally employed overseers to supervise the detailed operations of their plantations, at the same time reserving the right to lay down the general rules of management.[2] When the planter had several large holdings, as for instance, Captain John Fripp and Dr. W. J. Jenkins, it was impossible for him to attend personally to all the affairs of his crops and his laborers. Had the planter been disposed to undertake so arduous a task, he likely would have done so at the risk of his health, for the whites were subject to the diseases of the summer months, especially malaria, or the "intermittent fevers." No planter, therefore, who could borrow the price of an overseer's wages would spent the "sickly season"[3] on his having assumed management in 1802, finding the gang 000 good, but "very disorderly which is invariably the case when there is a frequent change of managers."[9] Later his son succeeded him.

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[1] Whitemarsh B. Seabrook, "On the Causes of the General Unsuccessfulness of Sea-Island Planters," *Southern Agriculturist,* VII, 177-183.

[2] For a list of regulations made by a planter for his overseer, see Phillips, *Plantation and Frontier,* I, 115-122.

Louis Manigault, after having made only half a crop due to his new overseer's inexperience, wrote, "He says 'he will do better another year, that now he sees into it,' and as is well known, 'Never change an Overseer if You can help it.' We try him once (but only once) more."[10] But he proved no better the second year than the first. "Elated by a strong and very false religious feeling he began to injure the plantation a vast deal, placing himself on 466 567 a par with the Negroes, by even joining in with them at their prayer meetings, breaking down long established discipline, which in every Case is so difficult to preserve, favouring and siding in any difficulty with the people, against the Drivers, besides causing numerous grievances."[11] And so Manigault was forced to look for a new overseer.

ORGANIZATION OF SLAVE LABOR

466 464 567 Planters learned early in the use of slave labor that it was necessary to give certain trusted Negroes limited authority over the others so that with a change of overseers the plantation routine might be disturbed as little as possible. On the large plantations the seasoned Negroes trained the new ones and were responsible for their behaviour. In the early days of the plantation regime, when a gang of fresh Africans was purchased, they were assigned

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[9] R. King, Jr., "On the Management of the Butler Estate," *Southern Agriculturist*, Dec., 1828.

[10] Phillips, *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 143.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

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Town, New Jersey, visited Beaufort and the neighboring 567
Sea Islands in 1785 he recorded in his diary, "The planters 342
all fix at a distance from the road with avenues cut through
the woods leading up to their houses. The Negro houses 567
are laid out like a camp & sometimes resemble one."[37] 342
The Negro quarters, or "nigger-house yard," or "nigger 361
street," as they were variously called, did, indeed, resemble a camp spread out a quarter of a mile back of the master's or overseer's house. Edward L. Pierce in 1862 described the houses of the field hands on St. Helena Island as being "ranged in a row, sometimes in two rows
fronting each other. They are 16 feet by 12, each appro- 567
priated to a family, and in some cases divided with a parti- 342
tion. They numbered on the plantations visited 10 to 12, and on the Coffin plantation they are doubled, numbering 23 double houses intended for 46 families."[38] Later he reported that on some of the plantations the cabins were "ill-conditioned being without chimneys,"[39] so that when there was a fire inside, the occupants were engulfed by a great cloud of smoke. In 1862 Miss Laura M. Towne described the quarters on the Eddings Point plantation, the Edgar Fripp plantation, and on one of the Jenkins plantations as "wretched hovels" with wooden chimneys and gen-
eral squalor.[40] Later in the same year Charles P. Ware, [797]
another missionary to St. Helena Island, found the houses on the McTureous plantation "terribly out of repair, with wooden chimneys and mud floors."[41]
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[37] Joseph W. Barnwell (ed.), "Diary of Timothy Ford, 1785-1786," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XIII, 145.

[38] Pierce, "Report," in *Rebellion Records*, sup., I, 304.

[39] MS in Port Royal Correspondence, E. L. Pierce to S. P. Chase, April 1, 1862.

[40] *Letters and Diary of Laura M. Towne*, p. 57.

[41] *Port Royal Letters*, p. 77.

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